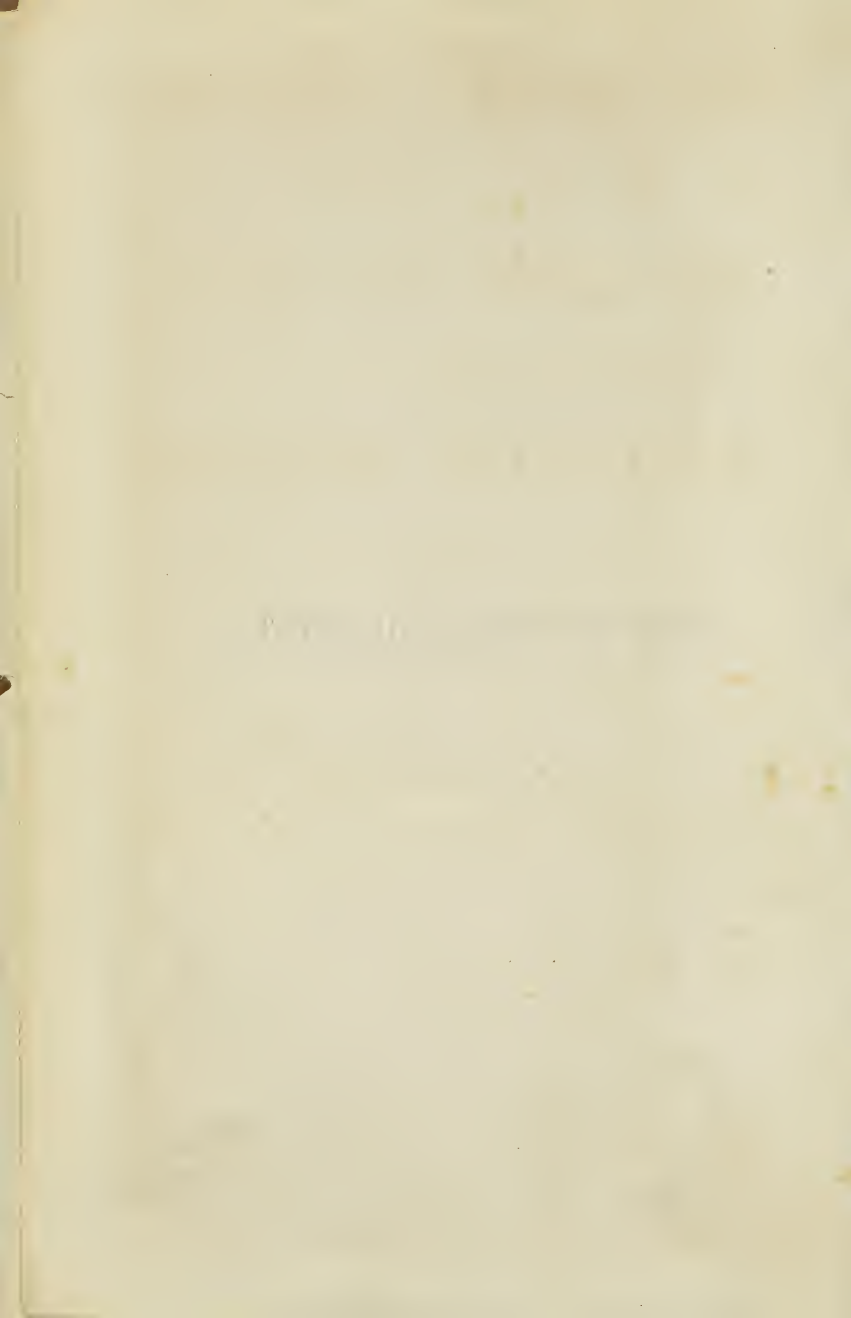


CASE
OF THE
COLONISTS.

52-58-417
-25-35-125

CASE OF THE COLONISTS.



*Robt. White, Mulder, Chambers
& L. B. Bishop for the St.*

CASE OF THE COLONISTS

OF THE

EASTERN FRONTIER OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

IN REFERENCE TO THE

KAFFIR WARS

OF

1835-36 AND 1846.

By R. GODLONTON,

EX-EDITOR OF THE "G. T. JOURNAL," AND MEMBER OF THE
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

GRAHAMSTOWN:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY RICHARDS, SLATER & CO.

1879.

Dedicated

TO THE

FIRST SETTLERS

ON THE

EASTERN FRONTIER OF THE CAPE COLONY.

AS A

RECORD

OF

THEIR EARLY STRUGGLES TO MAINTAIN THEIR POSITION;

AND AS A

Memento

OF

THEIR PATIENCE IN ADVERSITY,


AND OF

THEIR INDOMITABLE HEROISM AND PERSEVERANCE IN RESISTING

UNJUST CONTUMELY

AND

MULTIPLIED GRIEVOUS WRONGS.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
University of Pretoria, Library Services

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY	I
II. INTRODUCTORY—(<i>continued</i>)	13
III. THE UNDERPLOT	21
IV. GOVERNOR NAPIER'S ADMINISTRATION	29
V. GOVERNOR NAPIER'S PROGRESS	38
VI. GOVERNOR NAPIER VISITS KAFFIRLAND	49
VII. LORD GLENELG SUPERSEDED	57
VIII. GOVERNOR NAPIER'S CONCLUSIONS	65
IX. MIGRATION OF THE DUTCH FARMERS	75
X. INCREASED DARING OF THE NATIVES—DEMAND FOR THE MURDERERS OF W. HARDEN	84
XI. THE KAFFIR CHIEF KAMA AND PEOPLE OBLIGED TO REMOVE	92
XII. RELATIVE CONDITION OF KAFFIR AND COLONIST	103
XIII. GOVERNOR SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND VISITS THE FRONTIER	111
XIV. THE WORKING OF GOVERNOR SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND'S POLICY	118
XV. DARK PRESAGE OF AN IMPENDING STORM	128
XVI. DISCUSSION IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL— SPEECHES OF THE COLONIAL SECRETARY AND ATTORNEY-GENERAL	135
XVII. PORTENTS OF THE APPROACHING STORM	145
XVIII. WAR CRISIS IMMINENT	152

P R E F A C E

(To First Edition).

THE following pages originally appeared in the columns of the *Graham's Town Journal*, and were occasioned from incidentally directing the attention of the public to "*A Letter to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies*," then just published by Mr. C. H. GRISBROOK, an old and respectable inhabitant of Graaff-Reinet, on the state of this disturbed Frontier.

At the outset, no intention was entertained of amplifying the remarks to the extent they have run. But this, although only the salient points of the case have been touched, was found to be unavoidable. The great difficulty has been condensation, brevity, and yet perspicuity; the selection from the abundant materials at hand of such as should present to the judgment of a just, a generous, and a discerning British public, a clear and well-defined outline of the whole.

There can be no doubt in the mind of any that the affairs of this Frontier, in connection with the neighbouring Kaffir tribes, must ere long be made a matter for searching investigation. The Colonists, as well as the Government, are equally bent upon and alike interested in this. The appointment of a Colonial Agent in London has been, and yet is a favourite project with the former; but it is obvious that, in the event of this design being carried out, a primary step will be not merely to present him with his retaining *Fee*, but to furnish

him with his "*Brief*;" in other words, to place in his hands a lucid sketch of the case of those whose interests it will then be his duty to advocate.

Again, it was thought that such an outline might be valuable to the British public, as well as to the Home and Local Governments. It is true that the information thus afforded is not new nor hidden from the public; that, on the contrary, it is accessible to any who are sufficiently interested to seek for it; but still, scattered as it is in the ephemeral pages of a newspaper, and spread over a series of years, it is few who would be likely to take the trouble to wade through so large a mass of evidence, in order to select that with which it is so important to the Colonists the public should be thoroughly acquainted.

The great evil under which this Colony has laboured has been the profound *ignorance*, both of the British public and Government, of the actual character, situation, and circumstances of its inhabitants. Had these been fully known, those disasters which have overtaken this Settlement never could have happened. Justice and self-interest would have alike forbidden it. But veiled as its affairs have been, the most extravagant fictions have been believed and acted upon. Partizanship has had in this country a wide field for its operations; the British public have been deluded; numbers of the Colonists ruined or destroyed; while the Government has been taught a lesson, by the demands upon its treasury, which it is certain it will not easily forget.

It is with the hope of assisting to dispel this darkness, that these papers are now published in their present form. The task of compilation has been engaged in as a "labour of love." They are printed and circulated *gratuitously*; and if

they but conduce to the end in views—should they benefit the Colonists, and contribute in ever so small a degree to the general weal, the Author will be sufficiently rewarded for any trouble he may have encountered in their compilation, or for any expense he may incur in printing and circulating them.

In submitting these pages to the public, he claims no merit save fidelity. It is probable that at first sight they will appear to give but a partial view of the whole matter. And, in fact, the Case of the Colonists is emphatically an *ex parte* one. THE AGGRESSION IS ALL ON ONE SIDE; the Colonists are entirely guiltless of having provoked offence. Even the Kaffirs themselves do not plead any such excuse for their murderous inroads and incessant plunderings; while successive Governors have officially declared that the Colonists are altogether irreproachable in their conduct towards these restless people. Such being the actual fact, and upon which they boldly challenge enquiry, they come before their country with clean hands; they appeal to the manly feeling of their fellow-subjects; and they claim at the hands of their Government the redress of past injuries, and security for the future.

GRAHAMSTOWN,

1st February, 1847.

P R E F A C E

(To Second Edition).

IF there be one question on which more than any other all are agreed, and that stands out in bolder relief before the Cape public at the present moment, it is the question how best to deal with the Aborigines of this section of South Africa. The more immediate and practical inquiry is—What has resulted from our past policy, and how far and to what degree has that policy taught us in respect to the future? Do what we will, or deprecate as we may, we cannot get rid of the inquiry. The Colonists of the Cape dwell on the margin of a vast and densely peopled Continent, and hence, were it possible to exterminate the Natives who at present confront and trouble us, it would be the mere opening of a wide door for others to follow them. It might be possible to create a desert, but it would be vain, indeed, to regard it as final, or to call it peace. Many sided as the question is, it must be looked at under its various aspects, and be dealt with on its merits. “The Case of the Colonists” is clearly an exceptionable one, demanding special treatment, and, above all, the careful excision of those Utopian theories which, in the guise of Philanthropy, vanish into thin air when exposed to the crucial test of stubborn fact. It is of momentous importance that such dispersion should take place, and that not alone to the more exposed Eastern Frontier of the Cape inhabitants, but to South Africa at large.

That "History repeats itself" is an axiom which is strikingly exemplified in this Colony at the present moment. We have in the Parent Country the same self-constituted "Aborigines' Protection Society" standing forth as the apologists of the Native aggressors, and seizing upon every fact tending to weaken that sympathy for the suffering Colonists which they have a right to expect and may justly claim from their country. We see the same Quixotic endeavours as were made in 1835, to heap obloquy on the Colonists, and to pare down to a minimum the misdeeds and atrocities of their barbarous aggressors. In short, the same course of action is taken to blacken the Colonists, as was exhibited in 1835, and to which may be ascribed all the commotions, together with the waste of life and property that has since occurred.

If the intelligent student of Cape history will refer back to the Governmentship of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN—one of the most able, upright, and humane administrators the Colony ever had—he may clearly trace all the subsequent commotions on the Eastern Frontier—the loss of life and waste of treasure, to the treatment that officer received, and to the utter disregard of his advice, culminating in the total abrogation of all his measures. It is not too much to say, that a more wanton injustice to a distinguished veteran in the service of the Crown was never perpetrated than that exhibited in the recall of that able and gallant officer; nor, it must be added, was ever a more cruel, undeserved injury inflicted on a suffering community than was exhibited on that occasion.

It may be confidently affirmed that the Kaffir War of 1834-5 was the most successful campaign ever waged against the Native

hordes of this country. Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, after a very arduous and determined struggle, had the aggressive tribes at his feet. The Paramount Chief HINTZA and his son KRELI were prisoners of war and suppliants for mercy, while BOOKIE, HINTZA'S brother and Chief Councillor, and scarcely inferior to him in influence, was held as an hostage, and sent into the Colony as surety for the due fulfilment of the engagements into which they had entered with the Colonial authorities.

It is doubtless open to objection, that no engagement entered into with, or profession made by a Kaffir, is of any value ; a position that may be freely admitted, where there exists no power to enforce compliance. But, on the other hand, when he is made fully sensible of defeat, and is conscious that he is powerless to resist the force opposed to him, he succumbs at once to the inevitable, and becomes amenable to civilized control. Accepting this as a correct trait of Native character, then it may be asked—What might not have been the result, if the Imperial Government, instead of disgracing Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN and rescinding all his measures, had firmly supported his policy, and sent him such aid as would have shewn the Natives, in their then temper, the madness of further resistance? On the other hand, to withdraw from the contest, and to make concession by actually *rewarding* the aggressors, was the most dangerous course, under the circumstances, that could have been pursued. Its direct tendency was to inspire contempt; for no other motive than fear could be presented to the Native mind for a course of procedure so utterly irreconcilable with their own customs, as well as so opposed to all their traditions, that it required but small gift of prophecy to foretell that the outcome to the Colony would assuredly be aggravated disaster.

The following pages will shew, step by step, the evil consequences of obstinate persistence in a false policy in dealing with the Native races, as also the flagrant injustice of turning a deaf ear to the reiterated remonstrances and earnest representations of a suffering people. The outbreak of 1846 was the knell of a system which Governor Napier, with all his prejudices in its favour, was fain to condemn as an outrage on our moral sense, as it was a series of astounding official blunders.

The outbreak of 1846, which was, as predicted, the result of the murders and outrages detailed in these pages, has been termed very absurdly, "*The war of the axe*," implying that *it* alone was the cause of a Frontier War which involved millions in its suppression, to say nothing of the loss of human life. The fact is, that simple act of theft, and brutal murder connected with it, was merely the culminating point (the last straw which brake the camel's back) of a ten years' series of outrages, so incessant and atrocious in their details, as to surpass belief, unless supported by such indubitable evidence as it here furnished.

It only remains to be added that this Second Edition of the following pages has been prepared and is published at the suggestion of those whose opinions on public questions, in general, are entitled to the highest respect, and whose wishes could not be disregarded without reproach.

GRAHAMSTOWN,

17th March, 1879.

INDEX.

	PAGE
Addresses of the Agricultural and Commercial Bodies of Albany to the Governor, on the state of the Frontier, arising from the Irruption of the Kaffirs into the Colony in 1834-35	2
Petition from Albany to the King in Council	3
Addresses to the Governor from the inhabitants of Capetown, and also of Graaff-Reinet	4
Ditto from Port Elizabeth	5
Petition to the King from Graaff-Reinet	6
Ditto from Albany to Parliament	7
Amount of Losses by the Kafir Invasion of 1834-5.. .. .	8
Prayer for Inquiry, Compensation, Protection	9
Kaffirs Rewarded and Justified for the Invasion	10
Address of the Inhabitants of Albany to the Queen	11
Confidence of the Colonists in the Justice of their Case	12
Condition of the Colony at the time of voting Address to Queen	13
Consequences of a Reversal of the D'Urban System	14
Opinion thereon of Colonel, now Major-General, Sir H. G. Smith	15
Benefits resulting to the Kaffirs from the D'Urban System	17
Dismissal by Lord Glenelg of Sir B. D'Urban	18
Opinion of the Colonists of Sir B. D'Urban.. .. .	19
Address from Albany to Sir B. D'Urban on his Dismissal	19
Assumption of the Governorship by Sir G. Napier.. .. .	20
Evils sustained by the Colonists from combinations of self-styled Philanthropists in the Parent Country	22
Mr. T. F. Buxton's Proceedings at the head of that Party	23
Connection of Capt. Stockenstrom with this Party.. .. .	23
Machinations of its Emissaries within the Colony	23
Proceedings of Dr. J. Philip, of the Missionaries Read, Jan Tzatzoe, and Andries Stoffels	24
Libellous Speeches on Sir B. D'Urban and Colonists at Sheffield	25
Helplessness of the Colonists to Resist these Attacks	26
Capt. Stockenstrom appointed, at the suggestion of Mr. Buxton, Lieut.-Governor of the Colony	26
Arrival at Graham's Town, and Address to him of the Inhabitants	27
He Refuses to receive Address	27

He Reverses all Sir Benjamin D'Urban's Measures, and gives over to the	
Kaffirs the Ceded Territory	27
Prediction of the local <i>Journal</i> as to the result of these Measures ..	28
Proceedings of the Philanthropical and Evangelical Party in the Parent	
Country to ruin the cause of the Colonists	29
Endeavour to prejudice Sir G. Napier before quitting England to assume	
the Government	30
Sentiments of the Local Press in reference to Sir G. Napier	31
His Excellency visits the Frontier	32
Influence of Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom over him	32
Address to him from Port Elizabeth	33
Rude Reply thereto	33
His arrival at Graham's Town, and Address from the Inhabitants ..	34
Reply to Address	34
Sentiments of the Local Press on the avowed Opinions of Governor	
Napier	35
Material Change in his Opinions	37
Publication of Official Returns of Kaffir Depredations by order of	
Governor Napier	38
Meeting of Governor Napier with the T'Slambie Tribes	39
His Excellency's Address to the Kaffirs	40
Case of W. Carpenter	41
Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom retires from his Government	49
Natal seized by Governor Napier	50
Opinion of the local <i>Journal</i> on this measure	51
Inconsistency of Governor Napier	52
Remarks on his Address to the Legislative Council	53
Mr. J. C. Chase's Returns of Kafir Aggressions, compiled from Official	
documents	54
Dismissal of Lord Glenelg, and appointment of Lord Normandy, as	
Colonial Minister	57
Altered tone of Governor Napier in reference to the Kaffirs	58
Dismissal of Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom, at the instance of Governor	
Napier	59
Remonstrance of the Anti-Slavery Society against this dismissal, and	
results	59
Second visit of Sir G. Napier to the Frontier	59
Alterations made in the Stockenstrom Treaties, and meeting between Sir	
G. Napier and Kaffirs at Block Drift	61
Meeting of Kaffirs at Fort Peddie, and Address of Governor Napier to	
them	61

Admission by the Kaffirs of their long-continued Aggressions upon the Colonists	61
Address to Sir G. Napier by the Inhabitants of George	61
Declaration by His Excellency that the Colonists were guiltless of offence towards Kaffirs	62
His Address to same effect in the Legislative Council	62
His eulogy upon the Frontier Press, and sentiments thereon of the local <i>Journal</i>	63
Governor Napier's matured opinions of the Kaffirs and Colonists	65
Attack of Kaffirs on Mr. Howse's farm servants	66
His overseer, Rudman, shot	66
Attack on Wagons by Kaffirs on public highway	67
Public Meeting at Grahamstown, and Resolutions thereat	68
Opinions of the Local Press on these proceedings	68
Article in Blackwood's Magazine on the Colony	69
Unfitness of Lieut.-Governor Hare for Civil Duties	69
Remonstrance of the Local Press against permitting Kaffirs to obtain Guns and Gunpowder	72
Meeting of the Inhabitants of Albany, and Resolutions thereat	72
Proceedings of Major-General Willshire at Khelat contrasted with the supineness of Frontier Authorities in dealing with the Kaffirs	72
Disheartening Reply of Lord Stanley to Petitions of the Frontier Inhabitants	73
Kaffirs menace the Colony, and drive the Missionary Weir from his Station	73
The Admissions of Government as to the extent of Depredations on Colonists	73
Emigration of the Dutch Farmers from the Frontier to the Country across the North-East Boundary	75
Fidelity of the British Settlers to their Government	76
The Stone Wall broken down of Mr. Fuller's Yard at Graham's Town, and Two Horses carried off through the aperture by Kaffirs	77
The Fingoes Attacked near Fort Peddie, and the Kaffir Chief Kama menaced for his attachment to the British	77
Death of the Chief Tyali	77
Attempt by the Gaika Chiefs to get up a charge of Witchcraft against the great Widow of Gaika	78
Murder of the Farmer D. Odendaal and his Servant	78
Plunder of Odendaal's Family	78
Two of the Servants on Sir Andries Stockenstrom's Farm Shot by Kaffirs	78

	PAGE
Lord Auckland calls at Port Elizabeth on his return Home from India ;	
Memoranda given to him respecting the Frontier	79
Robbery and Violence on Ferreira's Farm near Graham's Town.. ..	80
Severe Losses on the Koonap	80
Another meeting of the Lieut.-Governor and Gaiika Chiefs at Block Drift	80
The Colony again Menaced, and another Attack on Fingoes at Fort	
Peddie	80
Official admissions of Depredations	81
Contemplated Invasion of the Colony by Kaffirs	82
Military Expedition to Colesberg against Emigrant Farmers	82
Murder of W. Harden by Kaffirs	82
State and prospects of the Colony at the beginning of 1843	84
Hurried Return of the Lieut.-Governor from the North-East Boundary	
to Fort Beaufort, where he upbraids the Kaffirs with their Turbu-	
lent Conduct	85
Outrage on G. Van Rooyen, and Murder of Mr. Bovey's servant by	
Kaffirs	86
Machinations of the Kaffirs towards the Friendly Chief Gazella	86
Official admissions of Outrages by Kaffirs on Colonists	87
Roberies in the Baviaan's River District	88
Narrow Escape from being Shot of Mr. W. D. Pringle	89
Deplorable Condition of the Inhabitants of the Winterberg	89
Assemblage of Farmers at Fort Beaufort and spirited Demonstration ..	90
Lieut.-Governor Hare proceeds to Fort Beaufort, and Colonel Somerset	
takes the field for the purpose of Punishing the Chief Tola	91
The Christian Kaffir Chief Kama, aware of the dangerous designs of	
his countrymen, abandons his territory, and removes into the Basuto	
country	92
Duplicity of Sandilli	93
Murder of Mr. Robinson's Herdsman in the field	94
Continued Migration of the Dutch Farmers.. .. .	94
Bold Reprisals of the Chief Tola	94
Murder of Brown and Palmer, English Settlers, near Bathurst	95
Proceedings of Public Meeting at Bathurst	96
Murder of a European named Glynn, near Fort Beaufort	97
Petition of the Municipal Board of Commissioners at Graham's Town to	
the Queen, on the alarming state of the Frontier, arising from the	
continual Robberies and frequent Murders by the Kaffirs	97
Meeting of the Inhabitants of Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth on the	
same subject	97
Numerous Murders committed near the "Clay Pits" by Kaffirs	98

	PAGE
Horrible case of Torture and Murder by Kaffirs on plea of Witchcraft ..	99
Lieut.-Governor Hare again at Block Drift, where he upbraids Sandilli with his Treacherous Conduct	100
Robberies by Kaffirs in the Winterberg, and Sufferings of the Inhabitants	100
Astounding Confessions of Government as to the amount of Robberies committed on the Colonists	102
Condition and Mode of Living of the Kaffir people	103
Call by Mr. Ebden, in the Legislative Council, for Returns of Kaffir Depredations	104
Amendment on Motion, proposed for the purpose of stifling inquiry, by Secretary to Government	105
Opinion of Local Press on Proceedings	105
Governor Napier's Admission of the <i>repeated</i> Memorials sent to Govern- ment on the dangerous state of the Frontier	106
The Returns, refused by Government, prepared by Mr. J. C. Chase, and General Result of the Working of the Stockenstrom System shewn	106
Governor Napier relinquishes his Administration	106
Another Reply of Lord Stanley to the Petitions of the Frontier Inhabitants, and denial of their allegations	107
Proof given of the perfect fidelity of the Statements thus denied..	109
The farmers De Lange and Grobler shot by Kaffirs	109
Lieut. Jervois, R.E., stopped on the public road and Robbed by Kaffirs	109
Penalty demanded by Lieut.-Governor for Murder of De Lange..	110
Vattel on International Law
Meeting of Dutch Farmers of the Konap, and Speech of J. D. Nel ..	111
First Visit of Sir P. Maitland to the Frontier	112
Address to him by the Inhabitants of Graham's Town	112
Sir P. Maitland at Fort Peddie, and amendment of Treaties	112
Benevolent spirit of the Government evinced towards Kaffirs	113
Public Rejoicings at Alterations in the Treaties	113
Meeting of Sir P. Maitland and the Gaika Chiefs at Fort Beaufort ..	113
Address of the Farmers of the Winterberg	114
Establishment of Post Victoria	114
His Excellency at Tarka Post, and Address of Inhabitants	116
Hopes of the Inhabitants of benefit from the Measures of Sir P. Maitland	116
Renewed Aggressions by the Kaffirs.. .. .	117
Lieut.-Governor Hare visits Post Victoria to Ratify Treaties	118
Vexatious and frivolous Objections made by Gaika Chiefs.. ..	119
Turbulent Conduct of the Kaffirs at Fort Peddie	119
Several Highway Robberies Committed by Kaffirs, accompanied with Violence	120

Views taken of Frontier Affairs by the English Press, and Passage from Frontier History in the <i>Atlas</i> , London newspaper	121
Commotions between the Emigrant Farmers and Griquas, and movement of Troops across the N.E. Border.. .. .	123
Increased Activity of the Kaffirs in the Commission of Aggression during the absence of the Troops	123
Remonstrance of the Local Press	123
Sir P. Maitland's Second Journey to the Frontier	124
Address of the Farmers of Baviaan's River, and Arrival of His Excellency at Fort Beaufort	124
Alarming State of the Frontier on the arrival of His Excellency.. .. .	125
Daring Outrage by Kaffirs on Military Letter-carriers	126
The Frontier Farmers warned to be on their Guard	128
Remarkable apathy of the Local Authorities	128
Warning given of the hostile designs of the Kaffirs	128
The Chief Pato menaces the Diplomatic Agent Shepstone, at Fort Peddie	129
Robbery of the Farmer Van der Mervie, of Nieman's Kraal, and Narrow Escape from being Shot by the Marauders	130
Another Warning and Remonstrance by the Local Press	130
Public Meeting of Farmers on the Fish River	131
Strong Resolution passed, and Petition founded thereon transmitted to Governor in Council	131
Subsequent Calamities which befel the Parties who took part in the Proceedings of that Meeting	133
Emphatic Warning to Government in Speech of Mr. Painter	134
Severe Losses sustained by Mr. Pedlar of the Kaga	135
Public Meeting of the Kaga Farmers—Resolution and Petition to the Legislative Council	135
The Trader Newth wounded by Kaffirs	136
Proceedings in Legislative Council on presentation of Petitions	137
Speeches against Petitions of the Honourable Secretary to Government and Attorney-General	137
Remarks thereon of the Local <i>Journal</i>	139
The Farmer Van Vuuren Shot by Kaffirs	141
Robbery on the Highway by Kaffirs of Messrs. Ulyate and Hatton, and refusal of redress by Government	141
Cruel Murder of the Missionary Scholtz, and of a Servant of the Diplomatic Agent Shepstone, near Fort Peddie	142
The Lieut.-Governor proceeds to Fort Peddie, and charges Pato with commission of the crime	142
Proof that the Missionary Scholtz was mistaken for the Diplomatic Agent	143

Progressive Advancement of the Eastern Province, and its Prospects on the commencement of 1846	145
Case of Barend Erasmus	145
Preparations to erect a Military Post at Block Drift	147
Determined Resistance thereto made by the Kaffirs	147
Lieut.-Governor proceeds there	148
Meeting of His Honour and the Gaika Tribes	149
Warlike and menacing attitude assumed by the Kaffirs	149
Interview of Deputation of the Inhabitants of Graham's Town with the Lieut.-Governor	152
Testimony of the Lieut.-Governor to the treacherous character of the Kaffirs—to the pacific wishes of the Frontier Inhabitants—and to the guiltlessness of their conduct towards the Kaffirs.. .. .	153
Altered Tone of the Lieut.-Governor, and notice given by him that there was not the slightest cause of alarm—the Assurances of the <i>Kaffir</i> <i>Chiefs</i> being most satisfactory	154
Sentiments of the Local Press on this absurd vacillation of opinion ..	154
Public Meeting at Graham's Town, and Resolutions thereat	155
The <i>Thunderbolt</i> , with Troops and Munitions of War, dispatched from Table Bay to the Kowie	155
The Kaffirs demand the Evacuation of Post Victoria	155
Expected Attack on Fort Beaufort, and Alarm of Inhabitants	156
Active Preparations for War among the Kaffirs	156
Absurd Professions of Peace made by the Gaika Chiefs to the Diplomatic Agent at Block Drift, and extraordinary credulity of the Local Authorities	157
Letter of Lieut.-Governor to C. Fair, Esq., stating that he (Col. Hare) was not acquainted with a single act of the Kaffirs indicative of hostility	158
Spirited Remonstrance of Frontier Farmers at Fort Beaufort	159
Public Meetings at Graham's Town, Bathurst, Sidbury, and other places	160
Moderation of Sentiments indulged in by the Colonists in reference to the Kaffirs	160
Determined Warlike Proceedings of the Kaffirs	160
Atrocious Outrage in rescuing a Kaffir Prisoner from the Civil Power, and Brutal Murder of a Hottentot, also in the custody of the Colonial authorities	161
Refusal of the Kaffirs to afford redress for these insulting and atrocious Outrages	161
Invasion of the Colony by the Kaffir Tribes, and disastrous consequences to the whole of the Frontier Districts	161

CASE OF THE COLONISTS.

“A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES ON THE KAFFIR QUESTION.”—By C. H. GRISBROOK, J.P., and *Sheriff-Député of the District of Graaff-Reinet.*

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Oct. 24, 1846.

THE above is the title of a Pamphlet just issued from the Frontier Press, and it may be hoped it will meet with all the attention the importance of the subject on which it treats is justly entitled to claim from the British Government and public. Mr. GRISBROOK deserves well of the Colony for thus stepping forward in the common cause, by bringing together those strong proofs upon which the Colonists rest their claims upon the consideration of their Government and country. And not only so, but he has exhibited at one view those earnest and oft-repeated entreaties for protection, and for the adoption of prudential measures for the safety of the Frontier, which, since the desolation of this Province in 1835, have been made to the Imperial Government—but made, alas! so utterly in vain.

The evidence thus brought before the public is emphatically irrefragible. No one, after what has lately transpired, will be bold enough to dispute it; for though it has been denied, it

never has and never can be controverted. Fanaticism, impudence, and mendacity have conspired to delude the British public on this subject—to distract their attention from the true merits of the case, and to make the worse appear the better cause—the success of their machinations being seen in the glare of the fired Settler's dwelling; in the downfall of the adjacent Native tribes; in the devastation of the Frontier districts; in a lamentable loss of human life; in the pinching want that is now felt; and in that enormous waste of treasure and property, which will perhaps make a more forcible impression than any other event whatever, or than any argument, however just and forcible, that could be put forth upon the subject.

The public documents thus brought together, and placed before the world by Mr. GRISBROOK, exhibit a degree of callous indifference to the situation and sufferings of a body of British Colonists which is without parallel in the history of colonization. Hence it may be useful to give a brief outline of their case as here presented.

The first document produced in evidence is a Memorial of the Frontier *Agriculturists*, presented to Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, February 9th, 1835, in which the subscribers state :

That ever since the arrival of the British Settlers, in 1819, the Kaffirs have been engaged in predatory incursions of greater or less extent in the Frontier districts, harassing the farmers, and despoiling them at different times of portions of their property, and that they have now murdered many of the inhabitants, burned their houses, swept off their cattle and other stock, and, in fact, reduced nearly the whole of the Frontier population to a state of utter destitution.

This is followed by a Memorial from the *Commercial* body, in which it is set forth :

That a very large capital is embarked in the trade of Graham's Town; one Hundred Thousand Pounds of which, or thereabouts, are now outstanding, and due to the principal houses.

That the whole of this extensive trade has been entirely destroyed by the irruption of the Kaffirs, and the farmers of Albany and Somerset generally having been plundered of all their property, they are incapable at present of meeting their engagements, and your Memorialists are consequently exposed to embarrassments in making remittances to their foreign and other distant

connections, which can only be removed by the interference and assistance of the Government.

These representations shadow forth the character and sweeping extent of the ruin which had overwhelmed the Settlement; nor was the matter left here; for the inhabitants, on the 9th of June following, in an Address to the Governor of the Colony, point to what they conceive may afford reasonable hope of security for the future. They trace the effect to its cause, and then point to the remedy in the following terms :

They feel it to be a duty which they owe to their country, to themselves, and to their children, to state unequivocally to Your Excellency their firm conviction that the frequent murders and continual plunders which have been committed on the farmers along this Frontier during a series of late years by the Kaffir tribes contiguous, may be mainly attributed to an inefficient policy hitherto pursued in our relations with that people; and hence, in their opinion, an entire change of measures is necessary for the future security of the lives and property of the inhabitants.

That without presuming to suggest to Your Excellency the nature of those relations, or the basis on which they should be founded, they nevertheless cannot refrain from observing that one principal cause of those lamentable commotions which have prevailed so extensively along this Frontier, and which have at length ended in the ruin of the British Settlement of Albany, and in the annihilation of a flourishing lucrative inland trade, may be distinctly traced to the indefensible character of the boundary hitherto maintained between the Kaffir tribes and the Colony; and that it is their deliberate opinion, formed on the result of experience, that the only line of demarcation capable of being protected against a people of such inveterate predatory habits as the Kaffirs, is that formed by the bold, precipitous, and open banks of the River Kei.

Not content with expressing these sentiments to the Governor of the Colony, the people reiterate them in a Petition to the KING, from which the following passages are extracted :

Your Majesty's petitioners, and most loyal and dutiful subjects, have now the melancholy and heart-rending task of humbly stating to Your Majesty, that all their reasonable hopes have been blighted. Their Settlement, recently so smiling—and which, by the hand of industry, had been reclaimed from a wilderness to the condition of a fertile Province—has, by the irruption of the barbarian hordes, been laid waste by fire and plunder. The inhabitants on the line of Frontier, from the sea upwards to a distance of ninety miles, have been driven from their homes to wander as houseless fugitives; many of their friends and relatives have been barbarously murdered; they have been reduced from comfort and affluence to want and poverty; their trade has been

annihilated; many of the defenceless and unresisting traders have been mercilessly slain whilst unsuspectingly engaged in their peaceful avocations; and their property, to a very great amount, has been plundered and destroyed by the barbarian tribes.

Divine Providence having, however, crowned Your Majesty's arms with success in the expulsion of the barbarian hordes from Your Majesty's dominions, and as their late unprovoked and wanton irruption has been followed by a conquest of their territory—the present time appears to be a most favourable opportunity, and which, if lost, can never again recur except by a repetition of the same calamitous causes—of fixing a boundary more suitable to the Colony; one which offers greater difficulties to escape with plunder; which is more capable of defence, and which may render the inhabitants more secure against the future inroads of the Natives. Hence, Your Majesty's petitioners most humbly and fervently pray, that as the River Kei possesses all the advantages which can be desired, that the annexe to the Colony of the country comprised between the Keiskamma and that River, as proclaimed by Your Majesty's Governor of the Colony, and which country the Kaffir tribes had unjustly usurped from the rightful possessors,—may meet Your Majesty's most gracious approval and confirmation.

These sentiments were promptly re-echoed by the inhabitants of *Cape Town*, who, in an address to the Governor passed at a public meeting, placed upon record the following strong opinions:

Our admiration and gratitude have been excited by the combination of vigour, temper, forbearance, and justice which has marked the whole course of Your Excellency's proceedings throughout the war; and we feel assured that the terms of peace, which the continued hostility and treachery of the invading tribes and their abettors justified Your Excellency in dictating to them, and the occupation of the territory from which those tribes have been necessarily and justly expelled, are well calculated to provide for the future safety of the Colony.

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, and convinced that an attitude of firmness and determination towards the uncivilised tribes on our Border can alone inspire confidence, and lead to the prosperity of our fellow Colonists in that division of the Settlement, whose prospects and lives are involved in the issue, we earnestly hope, and confidently trust, that the whole of Your Excellency's proceedings, and especially the provision made for the future security of the Colony, will receive the full approval and confirmation of His Majesty.

Similar urgent representations are contained in an Address to His Excellency from the inhabitants of *Graaff-Reinet*, who point out the folly and danger of permitting a people like the Kaffirs to gain possession of the densely-wooded ravines which margin the Great Fish River, and the imminent danger that must

from such proximity arise to the Colony. The subscribers state :

Your Excellency found this portion of the British territories limited by a boundary infinitely less defensible than an imaginary line over an open country would have been, inasmuch as the Fish River is an extensive forest, with deep and wooded ravines, extended far and wide into the District of Albany on the west, and into the ceded territory to the east, and where, from a period long previous to the establishment of Albany, the Kaffirs had been enabled and accustomed to secrete their plunder and to defy the weak attempts which could at that time be made to punish or dislodge them, and which has ever facilitated those partial or general incursions which have for so many years laid the property of the Colonists at the mercy of the savages, and which gave to them for some time entire possession of a large portion of the Colonial territory. In exacting a territorial forfeiture for the late unprovoked irruption, Your Excellency assumed as a boundary a line not liable to those objections—a line alike recommended by sound policy, and denoted by nature; the just maintenance of which may, we trust, materially contribute to the effectual protection of the Colonists, and to a more peaceful state of relations with even the expelled tribes, than has hitherto existed, or can possibly exist, while the only boundary between ungoverned tribes of habitual robbers, and the herds of the Colonists, is an almost pathless forest.

This address then remarks upon the hardship of calling out the inhabitants from their peaceful occupations to take the field for the purpose of repelling these frequent invasions of the Colony. It observes :

Your Excellency must have seen with what cost and sacrifice to the Colonists these compulsory arrays are attended, and how the peaceful occupations of the husbandman or the trader are thereby interrupted; while at the same time their best endeavours at the proper fulfillment of this onerous duty would appear to have deprived them of the applause and the sympathy of many of their fellow subjects.

No less emphatic is the language used by the inhabitants of *Port Elizabeth*, who also addressed the Governor on the same subject. They remark :

The indefensible character of the late boundary having been incontestibly established, we cannot sufficiently testify our gratitude for Your Excellency's prudent and salutary determination to extend the Frontier line to the River Kei, and for the occupation of a territory in His Majesty's name, which has been so justly forfeited by the treacherous and barbarous irruption of its late possessors; and we look forward with confidence to a confirmation of this act on the part of the British Legislature as being the only means whereby the future security of the Eastern division of this Colony can be secured.

At a subsequent period the same sentiments, more elaborately worked out, were embodied in a Petition from the inhabitants of *Graaff-Reinet* to the KING in Council. This Petition is unquestionably one of the ablest and most important State papers ever transmitted from this or any other Colony for the consideration of the Imperial Government. Amongst other powerful arguments for a change of system, it shews the futility of depending upon the will or influence of the Native Chiefs in the following striking terms :

That it is the humble but most confident belief of Your Majesty's petitioners, that the mischievous customs and predatory habits of the Kaffir tribes have never been, nor can ever be, duly restrained by the power of their chiefs, and that until they are at once coerced and protected by just laws and the enjoyment of legal rights ; no people who are subject to the restraints imposed by civilized society can be secure in their immediate vicinity ; and that they can never be reclaimed from their habits until the means which may be employed towards their civilization are sustained and assisted by the right administration of justice. Your Majesty's petitioners would further beg most humbly to assure Your Majesty that rational and practical measures for the improvement of the Native races will derive their best support from the hearty co-operation of Your Majesty's faithful subjects in this Colony, who have a more immediate interest in their success than any other of their fellow subjects.

Finding that all these earnest entreaties were unheeded, that all their warnings were in vain, the people of *Albany*, in 1836, brought their case under the consideration of the Imperial Legislature. Petitions, giving an historical view of the formation, progress, and eventual overthrow of the Settlement, being forwarded home to both Houses of Parliament—that to the House of Lords being entrusted to the Duke of WELLINGTON ; that to the Commons to Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE. The following are extracts from these important documents :

That during the period this has been a British Settlement—viz., thirty years—the Frontier inhabitants have been repeatedly driven from their homes by these barbarous and restless people ; and the whole of the country now forming the Eastern Province of this Colony, and consisting of the districts of Albany, Uitenhage, Somerset, and Graaff-Reinet, has been laid waste, and reduced to a desert state.

Petitioners take this opportunity of stating to your honourable House, that they landed on the shores of Africa with an anxious desire and a firm resolve to conduct all their operations in accordance with British views and

feelings, and to base their intercourse, whether with the Natives, or with other Colonists, on British principles. They also beg leave firmly to state that no departure from this on their part has ever taken place; and, though averments have been made to the contrary, they challenge their accusers in the face of the world to produce tangible proof in support of any such allegation.

The Petitioners also shew that having been inveigled to this country by the flattering representations of the Home Government, they were obliged, by *coercive measures*, to remain in the perilous position in which they had been thus placed. Hence they state in their Petition :

Some indeed of their number, foreseeing the danger which awaited them, or from other causes, resolved upon removal, but were sternly prohibited from doing so, the local magistrate being instructed by the Colonial Government that "he was not to feel himself for the present authorised to grant any permission of removal, without specific authority from the Colonial Office, it being of the utmost importance with reference to the views of His Majesty's Government that positive establishment should take place on the lands assigned.

In consequence of these oppressive proceedings an endeavour was made to bring their case to the notice of the British public by means of a public meeting; but even this Constitutional mode of proceeding was arbitrarily prohibited by the local authorities. This the Petition sets forth in the following terms :

It was proposed, early in the year 1822, by several of the inhabitants of the Settlement, to hold a general meeting, in order to decide upon the best means to be adopted of making known their difficulties and their actual position to the Imperial Government; but your petitioners were prohibited by the Governor of the Colony from thus assembling.

The Petitioners then trace the progress of the Settlement, shewing that, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers by which they were surrounded, and the oppression they were compelled to endure, they had nevertheless raised the country from its wilderness state to that of a fertile thriving Province; and they remark :

Not only have the British Settlers of Albany exerted themselves to improve the resources of the country and enhance the value of its native productions, but they have been equally sedulous to disseminate abroad, and to hand down to their posterity, those great moral principles which are so justly the boast

and glory of their native land. Numerous edifices have been erected by them for Divine Worship, and schools established for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion ; nor have they ever relaxed in their endeavours to promote all those institutions whose professed object is the amelioration of the condition of mankind at large.

Such was the condition of the Settlement when, at the close of 1834, the Kaffir hordes, without even the shadow of a provocation from the Colonists, suddenly burst into the Colony, and changed the scene so smiling and promising to that of the desert ; spread desolation through the land, and laid waste or carried off their property of every description, which had been accumulated by hard-earned industry, and amidst innumerable difficulties, during the previous fifteen years. This calamity is thus briefly adverted to :

That petitioners having, as they trust, clearly proved to your Honourable House the injustice with which they have been treated both by the Native tribes adjacent and their own Government ; having also clearly shown from official records and admitted facts that ever since this Colony has been a British possession the Eastern Province has been repeatedly depopulated by the formidable inroads of the Kaffirs, and that their more petty incursions have been alike incessant, disastrous, and irritating ; it now becomes the painful duty of petitioners to advert to the late destructive irruption, when, without the least warning, and at a time to all appearance of profound peace, the barbarian hordes suddenly burst into the Colony, demolished in one short week the entire labours of fifteen years, wantonly murdered upwards of forty of the peaceful inhabitants, destroyed by fire 455 farm houses and 58 wagons, carried off 5,438 horses, 111,418 cattle, 156,878 sheep and goats, scattered and destroyed nearly the entire harvest of the preceding year, and committed other ravages ; altogether amounting to the total estimated value of £288,625 4s. 9d.

After the perusal of the foregoing it will never, it may be supposed, enter into the imagination of any sane individual, that a murderous and unprovoked aggression of this character would admit of *justification*, and still less that a Secretary of State could, without impeachment, put forth so startling a declaration. But still, incredible as it may appear, such was nevertheless the fact. The monstrous assertion *was* made, and is brought under the notice of the Representatives of the British people in the following paragraph :

The result of this barbarous and unprovoked inroad is, that great numbers of the Frontier Colonists are reduced from comparative comfort to a state of such abject poverty and want, that it must be seen to be fully under-

stood; and it will scarcely occasion surprise to your honourable House, after the details which your petitioners have felt it their duty to lay before you, to add that the poignancy of their sufferings is immeasurably increased by the fact that the Right Hon. Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch to His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban, has stated his conviction that in the conduct which was pursued towards the Kaffirs by the Colonists, and the public authorities of the Colony, through a long series of years, the Kaffirs had an ample JUSTIFICATION of the late war, and that they had a perfect RIGHT to hazard the experiment !!

That petitioners take this opportunity of declaring most unequivocally any participation in conduct which could warrant or dictate the bitter reproach cast upon the Colonists in this instance; and hence they are induced to appeal to your honourable House for that justice which they have repeatedly and urgently prayed for in vain at the hands of His Majesty's Government. And they are the more imperatively urged to bring their case before the tribunal of their country, by the fact that great numbers of the inhabitants of this Frontier—driven to despair by the incessant and ruinous inroads of the Kaffirs on the one hand, and the neglect of their just complaints on the other—are fast abandoning the Colony, preferring rather to risk the dangers and endure the privations consequent on plunging into the trackless wilds of the Interior, and subjecting themselves to the hardships of a nomadic life, and the inevitable risk of attacks by savage tribes, than submit longer to that chilling apathy with which their most urgent representations have been heard, or that contumely with which they have hitherto been treated.

After thus detailing their grievances, and shewing by reference to public documents extant and easily accessible the whole course and character of their affairs, the Petitioners prefer three specific requests, namely :

INQUIRY,
COMPENSATION,
PROTECTION,

and which they more fully set forth in the following prayer :

1.—For The appointment of a *Commission of Inquiry* to investigate on the spot into those charges which have been so injuriously made against them.

2.—That they may receive *Pecuniary Compensation* for the ruinous losses which have recently befallen them, and which may justly be attributed to disregard of their repeated petitions, and most urgent remonstrances.

3.—For such *adequate Protection* in future against the aggressive inroads of the Native tribes as shall stimulate the plundered inhabitants to re-establish themselves on their ruined and deserted farms; as shall check that extensive abandonment of the Colony which is now in course of progress; and as shall restore that confidence in the justice and paternal regard of the British Government, which has been forfeited, to a considerable extent, by the adoption of

impolitic measures, and by lending a too credulous ear to the reprehensible calumnies which have been cast upon a community of British subjects, whose humanity and loyalty they do not hesitate to declare are alike unimpeachable.

Will it be believed that this urgent appeal was treated with the same chilling and criminal disregard as every preceding one ; that no inquiry was made, no compensation given ; and that, instead of protection, the savage invaders of the Colony were actually REWARDED for their murderous inroad ; a fresh tract of country being given them, by which they were placed in a position where they might repeat the aggression with more ruinous and deadly effect, and with greater facility ? Monstrous and fabulous as all this appears, it is nevertheless a sober reality, the consequences of which we see, and are made to feel, in the calamities that have again overspread this once smiling Province ; by a repetition, in an aggravated form, of a sweep of the very same tract of country by the same robber hordes ; by the destruction of the property and annihilation of the hopes of the Colonists ; by an appalling loss of life ; and by an expenditure of British treasure which, considering the ease with which it might have been avoided, cannot be contemplated but with poignant regret as respects the past, and with serious uneasiness as regards the future.

Depressing as this neglect, contumely, and injustice must have been upon the minds of the Colonists, for, notwithstanding they had petitioned the King, the Parliament, the Governor in vain, yet hope, which “ comes to all,” did not entirely forsake them. Strong in the intrinsic justice of their cause, they still persevered ; and hence, on the Accession of Her Majesty the QUEEN to the British Crown, the inhabitants of Albany, in an Address transmitted home on the occasion, at the close of 1837, again bring their position and circumstances under the notice of Her Majesty in the following terms :

Overrun as the Province has recently been by a predatory incursion of the Native tribes—the inhabitants having witnessed the whole Settlement of Albany laid waste, and heard the piercing lamentation of the widow and the fatherless—still the unfortunate sufferers repose with confidence on Your Majesty, and on their country, for the adoption of such measures as shall ensure them in future the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, as well as

afford them protection against the recurrence of those extensive inroads, so frequent on this Frontier, and which have been attended with consequences alike lamentable and disastrous. It is our paramount duty also to state to Your Majesty that since the subversion of those benevolent measures which were adopted by Your Majesty's Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, several thousands of Your Majesty's valuable and loyal subjects have abandoned the Colony—the land of their birth—impelled thereto by a painful sense of insecurity, and the absence of that public confidence without which a people can neither enjoy contentment nor arrive at prosperity.

But while we make this humble appeal for justice and for rigid INQUIRY into our case and circumstances, we rely with implicit dependance on Your Majesty for redress of those grievances under which we labour; assured that Your Majesty's generosity will graciously pardon that importunity which nothing but the deep importance of those vital interests that are involved in the questions at issue would warrant our using.

Here then is proved, from a series of public documents, that the people of this Province have done all that in them lay to avert from the country, and from their own hearths, that ruin which has come upon them. They have faithfully, earnestly, and repeatedly warned the Government of the impending danger; they have most studiously avoided even the semblance of offence, which might be construed or tortured into an occasion of aggression; they stand before their country with perfectly clean hands, without an accuser or the shadow of an accusation against them; they plead that the Government, by its own determined perseverance in error, has brought down upon them the calamities by which they are now surrounded: fields desolated, dwellings fired, property destroyed or pillaged, a murderous war, and all the sufferings of penury and of want. Hence, with unshaken confidence in British humanity and justice, they bring their case before the tribunal of their country—*claiming*, as part and parcel of the Empire, indemnification for the past, and the adoption of such rational measures as may afford them just ground of hope, that in future time they will be permitted to enjoy in peace and security the fruits of their honest, persevering industry.

Such, then, is a very brief *outline* of the case of the ruined inhabitants of this British Settlement—a settlement which, if governed on rational principles, would soon vie in importance with any dependency of the British Crown. The sufferers reach

out their hands imploringly to their fellow-countrymen, and they entreat their aid in those struggles which for so many years they have been making against that chilling indifference and mal-administration of men in power, both at home and in this country, which have brought down ruin upon them, and deprived many of their number even of life itself. That their efforts have not been crowned with more success is their misfortune, not their fault ; for

“ TRUTH’S victories are slow. Those who begin
The glorious battle in her dear behalf
Die off—despairing, some ; and hapless, all—
And leave the harsh inheritance of strife
To those who love them, and to times remote,
The dearly-bought and tardy-paced success.
They sow, but reap not—nor their sons, nor grandsons ;
But strangers to them garner up their fruits,
Ofttimes not knowing even the saintly names
Of those who struggled for a thankless world.”

* * * * *

“ But blessings on the TRUTH, it prospers still,
And Error, though it lives luxuriantly,
Lives fast, and grows decrepit, and expires,
To be succeeded by its progeny.
But TRUTH ne’er dies. Once let the seed be sown,
No blight can kill it : neither winds nor rain,
Nor lightnings, nor all the wrath of elements,
Can e’er uproot it from the hungry soil.”

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTORY.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Oct. 31, 1846.

IN our last *Journal* we brought up the case of the Frontier Colonists to the date of the last document put in as evidence by Mr. GRISBROOK in his letter to the Colonial Minister, and upon which we grounded our remarks. It will be in the recollection of our readers that the document we refer to was the Address from the Inhabitants of Albany to the QUEEN on the Accession of Her Majesty to the Throne of the British realm.

But it may be necessary that we should dwell for a moment upon this proceeding—it being an innovation upon usual practice to introduce on an occasion of congratulation matter of a painful and mournful character. This novelty, however, not merely excited surprise, but it elicited from those who were inimical to the Frontier Colonists, and who chose to assume the character *par excellence*, and, so far as the Natives were concerned, of Philanthropists, the taunt that the subscribers had changed an Address into a Remonstrance, and that thus, instead of compliment, they had been guilty of offence to the Sovereign!

The subscribers, however, had too much at stake, and were too deeply in earnest, to consider or attach importance to such trumpery distinctions as these. They felt—keenly felt—their exposed and comparatively defenceless position, and feeling this they seized the *first* opportunity presented to them of making known their true situation to the head of the Government. This was fully explained at the Public Meeting which passed the Address, by the Colonist who moved the following resolution:

That it is the opinion of this meeting, that although in framing addresses of congratulation, it may not be customary to introduce topics leading to political discussion, nevertheless that the state of this Province is so alarming

as not only to warrant a departure from the usage, but to make it a **POSITIVE DUTY** to ourselves not to permit the opportunity to pass without faithfully placing upon record our sentiments upon matters of this grave and momentous import.

The speaker, in submitting this resolution, made in the course of the discussion the following observations :

Could they contemplate their situation for one moment, in connection with an address to their Sovereign, without adverting to their grievances and praying for redress ? Were they to sit passive and see their fellow-colonists abandoning the country by thousands and throwing themselves amongst the savage tribes of the Interior ? Were they to behold and to participate in this wide-spread ruin and to remain silent ? (Hear, hear). Such a course of procedure would create doubts as to the reality of their complaints, and would give some colour to that charge of exaggeration with which they had been charged. Exaggeration indeed ! He should be happy if the melancholy statements which had been made to the world had been exaggerated. Instead of this they gave but a very feeble and faint impression of their actual circumstances. They had been treated as criminals of the deepest dye ; but did they plead guilty to the charges which had been made against them ? (Cries of No ! no ! from all parts of the hall). *They had been condemned UNHEARD* (hear, hear)—*and not only unheard, but upon partial and FALSE evidence.* (Hear, hear). He need not go far back to show the lamentable state to which this fine Province had been reduced, for unfortunately every day was pregnant with ill, and brought with it a continued influx of evil tidings. Without therefore recurring to the past year or month, or even week, he should refer to a letter, which had been placed in his hands only the previous day, and which contained such a melancholy detail as must excite sympathy in the breast of every man whose bosom glowed with the smallest spark of humanity. He held in his hand a letter from a most intelligent and respectable inhabitant of the Tarka, one who knew the country and the people well, and who was able to speak and write with confidence of the state and condition of that part of the Colony. Many of the persons then present also knew the inhabitants of that district, and could bear testimony to their being as fine and as brave a class of people as any in the world. The speaker read as follows :

“ All the most intelligent of the ‘ Trek-Boers ’ whom I have seen look forward with dread to the course the Government are pursuing, and I am confident that none of the Tarka Boers would have left their fine farms to sojourn in the wilderness were it not *for the insecure state of the Frontier.* And several of them have told me at the eleventh hour, after their places were sold, and their wagons packed up, that if any effectual steps were taken to prevent the depredations of the Kaffirs they would yet remain. As to any other cause of dissatisfaction in this part of the Colony it is all false. There has indeed been some little grumbling about Slave Compensation, but the *depredations of the Kaffirs, and that only,* is the reason given generally for their leaving the Colony.”

Such were the powerful reasons which actuated the people of Albany in departing from the usual course prescribed upon such an occasion as that in question. Their case was an exceptional one. They had done no wrong, and yet had been visited by their own Government with condign punishment. They had asked for future protection, and their existence had been placed in more imminent jeopardy! Could they, under such circumstances, be otherwise than persuaded that the Government was under most mischievous influence; that it had been most grievously deceived; and that, unless stopped in its blind and downward course, the ruin of the Frontier would be the inevitable result? It was impossible they could be unaware of this, and hence, as men feeling for themselves and families, and as loyal British subjects concerned for the honour and integrity of their own Government, they stepped aside from the ordinary rule in the hope that the mere fact of the novelty of the innovation would of itself arouse a more than ordinary degree of attention.

It must also be remarked that the policy so iniquitously adopted by the Government, and so recklessly carried out, was alike destructive of the best interests of the Natives as well as of those of the Colonists. This is very emphatically, though concisely, shadowed forth by the brave Sir H. G. SMITH (the hero of Aliwal) in an Address made by him at Cape Town on the 26th Oct., 1837, and which is now before us. This officer had then finally quitted this Province; had thrown up his appointment in disgust at the treatment he had met with at the hands of the then Colonial Minister and his satellites; but before quitting the Colony he leaves upon record the following testimony to the character and conduct of this community, then struggling beneath that load of odium which had been so cruelly and unjustly heaped upon them, both by their Government and by a faction at home, aided by traitorous emissaries in the Colony, who exercised almost unbounded influence over the mind of the imbecile* Colonial Minister, and who, under the plea of philanthropy, was guilty

* That this is the true character of my Lord Glenelg is proved by the fact that his own colleagues in office were obliged to cushion him at last upon a downy pension of £2,000 per annum.

alike of egregious folly and of monstrous injustice. Sir H. G. SMITH remarks :

At a period of profound peace, numerous hordes of barbarians, bearing the bloody knife and firebrand, burst into one of the richest and most populous districts, spreading desolation far and wide ; and the once fertile fields of Albany and Somerset, adorned with the neat habitations of the wealthy and industrious, covered with numerous herds and flocks, are now nearly one wide and depopulated waste. It was to have been hoped, amidst the changes and chances to which human affairs are liable, this emphatic lesson of misfortune would have tended to cement all classes of society into one compact union for mutual defence and future protection ; deeply therefore is it to be lamented that so many thousands of worthy members of the community have abandoned the land of their birth to seek in a distant soil a doubtful and precarious condition, adopting this desparate step, in a sort of infatuation, as much to be regretted on individual account as connected with the general prosperity of the Colony. But, Sir, the Cape of Good Hope is the head of a vast country, in a fine climate, singular in its position as an emporium for trade, *its inhabitants loyal* and enterprising ; it must therefore speedily arise from this temporary depression, and protected from external assaults and aggressions, WHILE INTERNALLY IT IS TRUE TO ITSELF, under the fostering care of a mild and liberal Government, aided by the exertions of its public-spirited inhabitants inspired to higher energies, it must again become as prosperous as any of Her Majesty's Colonies. * * * * *

The events and circumstances connected with the late war have been too often discussed, and are too fresh in your recollection for me to dwell on. I shall proceed, therefore, to the more agreeable duty—a duty which I owe to the inhabitants of this Colony—here to declare the high estimation in which I hold their character, and the cheerfulness and obedience with which they endured the fatigues of war, although ill provided for its hardships ; and notwithstanding the excitement naturally arising from the UNPROVOKED injuries they had received, the humanity they ever exemplified is as honourable to themselves as consistent with the national standard of sentiments and morals. I certainly lost no time, when ordered by His Excellency the Governor, to repair to the scene of war, but *ere I arrived—*

“ It was too late to check the wasting brand,
And desolation reaped the famish'd land ;
The torch was lighted, and the flame was spread,
And carnage smiled upon her daily dead.”

* * * * *

I have been identified with this Colony upwards of eight years. I have shared the festivities of the affluent—the proverbial hospitality of the Boer or Farmer, the camp, and the fatigues and hazards of war, with a large portion of its brave people, and personal observation, on which a correct opinion can best be formed, enables me to assert that the Government has ever received the support of educated and influential men to promote the public good.

But the gallant high-minded officer we have named proceeds, after paying this tribute to the Frontier inhabitants, to show the mischief that had been done *to the Natives* by those who were, as they supposed, doing them good service. He says :

My exertions in the administration of the Government of the Province placed under my charge were excessive, I admit—impelled to the task by a firm conviction of the new subject. No infant system can burst into maturity; slow and gradual must be its steps to perfection; yet I may assert, and I am sustained in the assertion by solid and incontrovertible facts, that never before were such rapid strides made towards the acquirement of that harmony and tranquility upon which civilised society rests its surest—nay, its only foundation. While the Colonists reposed in peace, the Kaffir began to emerge from his habitual sloth and natural ignorance, and to acquire confidence in his intercourse with white men. When I contemplated this state of society before me—this mass of human beings possessing the same attributes with ourselves, but poor, degraded, ignorant sinners—nay, barbarians—from which state of ignorance and degradation, just laws impartially administered, education and the blessings of Christianity could alone rescue,—was this a time to be apathetic? Sir, I viewed my object through no medium but that of the most efficient means for its attainment; it constituted my thoughts by day and night—was the main source of my pleasure—and, naturally enthusiastic, I had the pleasing picture ever before me of the new state of things which would arise on the foundation for that social structure I had commenced, and which would eventually render the wretched Natives not only peaceable and honest neighbours, but happy, contented, protected, and improving within themselves. It has been asserted that the Kaffirs are an *amiable* and *respectable* people. If so, where is the *advantage* of civilisation? Such assertions, Sir, are founded in the grossest error; their *amiability* consists in self-will; their *respectability* in committing every excess that self-will dictates *undiscovered*; but their minds are capable of great discrimination, sensible of kindness; and I have experienced some instances of grateful attachment—others of the deepest duplicity. But, generally speaking, they are actuated by the impulse of the moment; hence, as no dependence can be placed on them, except under the combined influence of *self-interest* and *fear*, possessing the character natural to uncivilised man—easily pleased, readily offended, cunning, avaricious, treacherous, and vindictive, to which the Kaffir adds a peculiar restlessness of disposition, thirsting for news, and ever seeking a grievance as he meditates mischief. In my labours in this rude field, I derived great assistance from the missionaries and magistrates; and I cannot too highly applaud the patient endurance with which the former struggle against inconceivable difficulties, where the Kaffir is under no restraint of the law. But had the system established under His Excellency Sir B. Durban been persevered in, the *romance* of conversion and education would have become *reality*, and the Gospel—as our glorious God and blessed Redeemer has commanded—would have been preached to all tribes successfully; but so long as there is no protecting law—

equally for rich and poor—so long as the Chiefs uphold and derive advantage from the hellish cruelties of witchcraft ; so long as man oppresses without redress ; the savage can never be inspired with the omnipotence of his God, or the truths and blessings of Christianity. I fear the Kaffirs are not now as when British subjects—*improving men*—but unconfiding, unhappy, and restless barbarians, *miserable within themselves*, and dangerous to the Colony.

It was at the beginning of the year 1838 that Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN—a name which will ever be revered by the inhabitants at large of this Colony—was dismissed by my Lord GLENELG from his government, simply for presuming, with the manliness of a British officer, to repel the calumnies heaped upon himself in common with the community whose welfare it was his duty to promote, and whose public affairs had been entrusted to his administration. Thus was another severe blow inflicted upon the unoffending Colonists. Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN was viewed by the whole population as the best Governor the Colony had ever seen, an opinion however which was held without invidious comparison, no preceding Governor ever having been placed in similar circumstances to those in which this officer found himself involved. For scarcely had he assumed the reins of authority ere he found the Colony overwhelmed by a rush of the barbarian hordes, the Frontier districts in ashes, and the whole rural population ruined and homeless. With an energy and ability alike conspicuous, he had adopted measures to roll back this tide of invasion, while at the same time, with that active benevolence so characteristic of his nature, he had poured the balm of sympathy into the mental wounds of the ruined suffering Colonists, rendering their privations and difficulties tolerable, by a deep conviction that anxiety was felt by the Local Government to relieve their immediate wants, and to guard them against a recurrence of similar misfortunes. Hence, on the retirement of Sir Benjamin, at the beginning of 1838, addresses poured in upon him from all parts of the Colony, giving the fullest expression to that sorrow at his departure which was felt by the whole community. It will suffice to quote as an example of the whole the one from *Albany*.

Address

From the Inhabitants of ALBANY to SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN.

Presented January, 1838 :

May it please Your Excellency,—

We, the inhabitants of the District of Albany, Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, convened in Public Meeting, held in the Commercial Hall at Grahamstown, this 9th day of January, 1838, beg leave to tender to Your Excellency this expression of our deep regret at the prospect which is now presented of Your Excellency's speedy retirement from the administration of the affairs of this Colony.

In common with the community at large, we deplore this event as a public misfortune; whilst, as residents of the Eastern Frontier, we feel that Your Excellency has an especial claim to our most fervent esteem and gratitude. As the defender of our hearths against a barbarous and restless enemy; as the steady assertor of our claims to the consideration of the British Government; and as the uncompromising foe of those calumniators who, taking advantage of circumstances which neither prudence nor foresight on our part could arrest, have suppressed public sympathy, and widely and industriously circulated statements marked alike by wanton cruelty and by flagrant injustice,—the memory of Your Excellency will ever be held in that veneration and respect by the inhabitants of this Settlement, which time will serve but to perpetuate, and which memory will delight to cherish.

If anything could heighten this feeling, as well as add poignancy to our regret at Your Excellency's retirement from the administration of this Government, it would be the fact that this event is prematurely caused by Your Excellency having adopted those decided measures to secure the safety and promote the prosperity of this Colony, *the wisdom and importance of which do not appear to be as yet understood or appreciated in the parent country.* We regret this the more, inasmuch as the experience of the twelve months which have elapsed since those measures were subverted, has indisputably shown that the system laid down by Your Excellency was eminently calculated to restore public confidence; to heal the wounds of a suffering community; to raise a barbarous people to civilization, and to convert them from implacable enemies to honest and useful neighbours; to lead them from the errors and cruelties of paganism to the knowledge of the living and true God.

Deeply deploring, as we do, that delusion under which the Home Government and a large proportion of the British people are labouring, on subjects of vital moment to this fine country, and which has led to *the adoption of measures which have already driven many thousands of its productive hands and its best defenders from their homes in search of an asylum in the unoccupied wilderness beyond*, we yet cherish a firm reliance—founded on the TRUTH and JUSTICE of our cause—that those events, which are so dark and mysterious at present, will be so ordered by an overruling Providence, that Your Excellency's government of this Colony will ultimately appear in all its lustre, not less distinguished for benevolence and for justice, than for an inflexible purpose to maintain the rights and uphold the character of a people whose essential interests were confided to your care.

Trusting that a gracious Providence may guide Your Excellency's future life, that Heaven's choicest blessing may rest upon Your Excellency and family, and that you may long be spared in the uninterrupted enjoyment of health of prosperity, we subscribe ourselves, &c., &c.

Here then, with the retirement of this excellent Governor, we conclude this portion of our sketch. This event seemed to wither up the energy and to chill the spirits of thinking men. It was portentous of calamity. It not only betrayed deplorable ignorance of the real state of affairs in this country, but it exhibited, at the same time, such a reckless disregard of the lives and property of the inhabitants as could not do otherwise than excite indignation at so arbitrary an exercise of power, as well as inspire fear as to the ultimate consequences of proceedings so utterly opposed to the true interests of the Colony, and to every rational principle of humanity and of justice.

The following month, viz., February, 1838, Sir GEORGE NAPIER assumed the government of this country, and whose administration of Frontier affairs will furnish the subject of a future article.

CHAPTER III.

THE UNDERPLOT.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Nov. 7, 1846.

IF the preceding sketches of the case of the Frontier Colonists have been perused with attention, the uninitiated reader cannot be otherwise than surprised at the apparent absence of all motive for the infliction of that injustice, and the exhibition of that severity towards the suffering Colonists, which are both so strikingly manifest. He will find recorded the fact of an unprovoked irruption of savage hordes upon a peaceful European Settlement, many of its inhabitants being murdered, their property swept away, and their dwellings reduced to ashes. He will discover the greatest energy and ability displayed in repelling this inroad by the Governor of the Colony, the deepest sympathy expressed by him for the sufferers, and the most intense anxiety to relieve their present necessities, and secure the future peace of the Colony. It will also be seen that the Colonists, the immediate sufferers, supported by His Excellency, adopted with promptitude every Constitutional means to obtain redress of their grievous wrongs; that they appealed to the Governor of the Colony, to the Colonial Minister, to the King, to the British Parliament; but that all was in vain!—that their allegations were disputed, and their prayer not merely refused, but that instead of redress, their case was rendered more desperate, and their prospects more dark and dismal. The invading Kaffirs, instead of condemnation, were *justified*; instead of punishment, received *reward*, for their murderous and ruinous outrage.

All this is so marvellously paradoxical, that it becomes imperative that some explanation thereon should be offered; for

although the topic is an ungrateful one, yet the sacredness of historic truth and the claims of the Colonists alike demand that it should be distinctly brought forward in the discussion of the case now under review. The solution of the difficulty is to be found in an underplot, which actuated and governed the whole machinery. The Colonists became the victims to a dangerous delusion, at that time extremely prevalent in reference to the Native or Aboriginal Tribes in the several Colonies. Assuming *par excellence* the title and character of *Philanthropists*, they regarded the white inhabitants of the Colonies in the mass as the usurpers of their country, and as those who in every misunderstanding *must*, from their very complexion, be the aggressors. Unfortunately for the real sufferers in the instance under consideration, the Colonial Minister of that day, my Lord GLENELG, was deeply affected by this species of monomania, being, in fact, a distinguished member of this self-elected body in the parent country.

The Kaffir war was an occasion which brought into active antagonism the whole force of this party, which embraced many active members of the House of Commons, at the head of whom was the late Sir T. F. BUXTON, a man of high principle, of great moral worth, and of marked ability. At that period, too, unfortunately for the ruined Colonists, the Ministry was weak, the two great political parties in the country being nearly balanced, and hence it was that a comparatively insignificant section of the House of Commons was enabled to exercise sufficient power to crush any effort in opposition to them, which could be made by a distant portion of the Empire not possessing any influence over public opinion in the parent country, or weight with those who were entrusted with the administration of public affairs. The Colonists were, in fact, prostrate, and there was no friendly hand on the spot sufficiently strong to lift them up.

There was, indeed, at the period in question, one on whom rested the hopes of the Colonists—a native of this country—and who had raised himself to the high office of Commissioner-

General for the Eastern Province. But unfortunately this officer had, but a short time previously, thrown up his appointment in disgust, and had retired to the Continent of Europe with an intention, as it was understood, not to return to the Colony. While thus circumstanced, he was, through the influence of the party in question, called upon to answer certain queries in reference to the treatment of the Native tribes of South Africa, and in an evil hour was induced in reply to make statements reflecting on the inhabitants, both Dutch and English, which he found subsequently could neither be defended on sound principles nor supported by admitted fact.

Scarcely, however, had this injurious statement reached the Colonial Minister, ere the intelligence of the Kaffir irruption and of the sweeping ruin of the Frontier Districts was received by Capt. STOCKENSTROM. Startled at this unexpected outbreak, at the grave enquiries made in Parliament on the subject, and at being hurriedly called to London, there to confront a Parliamentary Committee—of which Mr. BUXTON was the most active and leading member—to give information upon the subjects which had formed the staple of the communication just before transmitted by him to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This placed him in a dilemma ; but he promptly made his election ; he boldly fell back upon his written statements, at once took his place amongst the Philanthropists, and thus persisted in advancing in that path of error upon which he had in an evil moment so rashly ventured. Those who may desire full information upon this subject have but to refer to the Parliamentary Papers of that day upon Aborigines, where, in the evidence given by Capt. STOCKENSTROM and others, they will find superabundant proof of the facts here adduced, and with which many of our readers are but too familiar.

But this was not all the Colonists were called upon to endure and contend against. The Colony had internal foes. A small but active, and at that time influential party, had arrayed themselves on the side of the Kaffirs from the very outset of the commotion, and were exerting all the influence they possessed

to dry up the public compassion for the Frontier inhabitants, and at the same time to awaken the sympathy of the British public in behalf of the savage invaders of the Colony, and destroyers of the British Settlement; and unfortunately in this they were but too successful. Dr. J. PHILIP, the Superintendent of the London Society's Missions in South Africa, not content with hastening home himself on this hopeful project, contrived to smuggle out of the Colony, with the assistance of the Missionaries READ, father and son, residents of the Kat River, a Gona Hottentot named ANDRIES STOFFELS, and the petty Kaffir Chief JAN TZATZOE; the former a man of restless disposition, of boisterous manners, but of little influence even amongst his own class; the latter a Kaffir, brought up in the Colony, of mild and pliable disposition, but of small authority in Kafirland, where he was rather tolerated than respected. These men, without any strong traits of character, were nevertheless admirably qualified for the parts they were required to perform in this political drama. Accordingly, on their arrival in England they soon became the *lions* of the "*Religious public*." They were paraded through the entire length and breadth of the land, brought out at public meetings at Exeter Hall, and in all the the large Provincial towns of the Kingdom; they were prompted to make speeches, inculpatory of the Frontier inhabitants as the oppressors of the Natives, thus exciting the indignation of the public against the unfortunate Colonists, then overwhelmed by the severest calamities, their houses burned, their fields desolated, and their families reduced to penury and wretchedness. In proof of the monstrous fables repeated at these meetings, we make the following extracts from a speech delivered by Dr. PHILIP at a gay public missionary breakfast at Sheffield, 15th Sept., 1835. Referring to the injurious despatch of Lord GLENELG to Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, and in vituperation of some remarks which had been made on the subject in the *Times* newspaper, he remarks triumphantly:

"You may remember that it was asserted in the official despatches from the Colony, that the Kaffirs were the immediate cause of the war; that they burst suddenly into the Colony; and that they had no provocation for doing

so. On this ground a proclamation was published on the 10th May, 1835, in which it was declared that certain Kaffir Chiefs named and their people were expelled for ever—and that on account of their treacherous invasion of the Colony! Expelled *for ever*! That is, exterminated (!!!)—and the number who were then proscribed have been estimated, according to a census since taken, to have amounted to sixty thousand.”

It is unnecessary to remark that, if this language have any meaning at all, it is intended to make the impression that the statement made by Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN was false, and his policy unjust and inhuman. Its fair and legitimate interpretation is, that the Kaffirs did *not* commence or give occasion for the war of 1835; that they did *not* burst suddenly into the Colony, or if they did, they had sufficient provocation for so doing. The plea of the Colonists is held up as a mere fable, fabricated purely as a screen for an unjust, cruel, and tyrannical measure, namely, the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the country west of the Kei,—the word *expulsion* being interpreted as equivalent to that of *extermination*!

But as though this was not sufficient, the Rev. D.D. draws the following picture of the Colonists, as given in the *Patriot* newspaper, of the 22nd September, 1835:

“With regard to the obstacles to the civilization of Africa, Dr. PHILIP entered into a detail of the causes, which in his view tended more than any other to keep her people in barbarism. He instanced, among other things, the conduct of European traders, who with wagons laden with brandy, powder, and guns, penetrated into the Interior, and when they had established themselves in some village, commenced their traffic, exchanging brandy for cattle, *sending out tribes of freebooters for everything they wanted, and keeping a set of hired marauders, whom they employed to steal cattle for them.* Another obstacle was, the practice of the Boers and Colonists,* at particular seasons of the year, driving thousands of head of cattle across the boundary into the country of the Kaffir and Hotteutot, consuming their pasturage, and when resisted, burning down their huts, and not unfrequently destroying whole villages” (!!!)

This will suffice to convince the reader of the *animus* of the whole of these proceedings, as well as the utter hopelessness of the contest in which the unfortunate ruined Colonists were then engaged. On the one hand, we see arrayed the Colonial Minister, with Mr. T. F. BUXTON, and the whole of the Philan-

* By the term “Boers,” is meant the old Dutch inhabitants; that of “Colonists,” the English Settlers.

thropic party, of which he was the head, doing battle against them in the House of Commons while abroad ; we have Dr. PHILIP, *lionizing* ANDRIES STOFFELS and JAN TZATZOE, exhibiting them to the gaping multitude as the wonderful African Chiefs, exciting the sympathy, and emptying the pockets of his credulous listeners, at the same time in constant communication with Mr. BUXTON and other leading men, who were his avowed partizans, wedded to the same opinions, and possessing the same principles. And what was there to oppose to all this ? We answer: Simply the unaided, the depressed, the ruined Colonists, harrassed by their immediate necessities, crippled in their means, without resources, and without friends, save a few generous spirits who voluntarily came forward, and endeavoured to stem that tide of prejudice which had thus set in against them, and which, as we now see, has ended in the ruin, *for the second time*, of the same people, and the destruction of their Settlement.

The perfect success of these machinations was crowned at length by the appointment of Captain STOCKENSTROM, Mr. BUXTON's nominee, to the newly-created office of Lieut.-Governor of this Province, and who accordingly arrived here to assume his duties on the 2nd September, 1836. It was not, however, to be expected that such an appointment, made under such circumstances, would be acquiesced in by the inhabitants ; and those who so calculated soon found that they had greatly mistaken the spirit which actuates the people of this Frontier. Conscious of the injustice of the charges which had been brought against them before a Parliamentary Commission, and published in the face of their country, a public meeting was promptly convened at Graham's Town, and an Address to Capt. STOCKENSTROM passed, in which the accusations were met by the following direct and searching interrogatories :

1. Whether, in your opinion, the conduct of the British Settlers of Albany has ever been, in any one instance, such as to justify the Native tribes adjacent in making incursions upon them, and in laying waste the country in which they have been placed by the British Government ?

2. Whether Your Honour has any knowledge of their having, as a community, acted inconsistent with the British name and character?

3. Whether it is your opinion that the Frontier farmers in general derive any advantage by hostile collision with the Natives? or whether, on the contrary, it is not within the knowledge of Your Honour that the inhabitants along the whole of the Inland Frontier of this Colony have been continually suffering from the daring and unprovoked inroads of the Native tribes upon them; and which have often resulted in the murder of their families, the destruction of their dwellings, and generally in the loss of property, which constitutes, to a Colonial farmer, the means of subsistence?

4. Whether, in short, the evidence given by Your Honour before a Committee of the House of Commons was intended to make on the public mind such impressions as are calculated to lead to a conclusion that the inhabitants of this Colony, or of this Frontier, deserve, as a people, by their ill-treatment of the Native tribes, or any other course of misconduct, to be reproached by their country with having brought disgrace upon the British name, or acted inconsistent with the requirements of humanity and justice?*

Instead of meeting these enquiries, or in any way defending the accusations which had been made, and upon which they were founded, the Address was rejected *in toto*, and the Lieut.-Governor entered upon his duties, distrusted by the people, and at issue with them on the most important question—that of Frontier Policy—which then agitated the public mind. The result of all this was soon seen, in the precipitate subversion, by the newly-appointed Lieut.-Governor, of all Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN'S measures for the security of the Colony; in the cession to the Kaffirs of a valuable tract of country along the Colonial border, including a large portion of the Fish River Bush, in the abandonment of several of the advanced military posts, including Fort Wiltshire, the finest and most costly fortress on the Frontier; in the ruin of King William's Town, a flourishing trading town on the Buffalo, and which, with its numerous costly

* The pertinency of these interrogatories will be fully apparent from the following extract from the evidence of Captain STOCKENSTROM, given before the Committee of the House of Commons, and recorded in the Parliamentary Papers:—

In the course of your evidence, when you used the word "Settlers" in an unqualified manner, did you mean English Settlers, or Dutch and English Settlers?—The Settlers generally mean Englishmen; they go under that name in common conversation.

And hy farmers you mean Dutch?—I generally mean Dutch; but they are more commonly called Boers.

Did any Englishmen serve on the commando?—Very often.

What class of Englishmen?—I believe the Settlers—English Settlers—living in the Albany District, are liable to be called on as well as Dutch Boers.

Where they so in fact?—Often.

buildings, was deserted and given up to the Kaffirs; and in making a series of treaties with the several Kaffir tribes, the terms of which were an outrage on common sense, directly calculated to incite them to plunder the Colonists, and to bring to pass the calamities by which we are now surrounded. Well might the local *Journal*, as far back as the 10th November, 1836, place the following remark upon record :

“It requires little political sagacity to predict with certainty that the same scenes of blood will be reacted, the same ruinous waste of money experienced, if the notions now held by the Executive Government at home in reference to the Colonists and Kaffirs are not exploded, and do not give place to more reasonable and just opinions, and to a better and more rational policy. LET THEM BUT PERSEVERE IN THEIR PRESENT COURSE, AND THIS WARNING HEREAFTER SHALL AT LEAST BE BROUGHT FORWARD AGAINST THEM TO THEIR CONDEMNATION.”*

Such, then, is a very brief outline of this episode in the political history of the period in question. We have introduced it with regret, anxious, as far as a sense of public duty will permit, to “let by-gones be by-gones.” But still, it is evident that without this exposition, the whole case of the Colonists is an inexplicable mystery. This forms, indeed, the main-spring or motive-power of the whole; it gives to it both action and force; it shews where the course of justice was impeded, and the insuperable difficulties which were placed in the way of a people living in a remote part of the Empire, who had no Representative in the Imperial Parliament, nor any who were directly interested in maintaining their cause against such fearful odds, or on whose succour and support they could depend in this dark hour of difficulty, suffering, and danger. They confided in their Government and were miserably deceived.

The documents appended to Mr. GRISBROOK’S pamphlet allude to these misrepresentations, but the reference is too obscure to be understood without such explanation as is here offered.

* Sir A. STOCKENSTROM discovered (after Sir B. D’URBAN’S departure from the Colony) that he (Sir B. D’URBAN) had abrogated his own policy, but this was confuted by the most irrefragable testimony.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNOR NAPIER'S ADMINISTRATION.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Nov. 14, 1846.

AFTER the *exposé* given in our last of the under-current working against the ruined and deeply-maligned Frontier Colonists, and which had neutralized and turned aside all their efforts to obtain redress from their Government for the grievous losses sustained by the Kaffir irruption of 1835, it will scarcely need remark that the tide thus making against them was the more difficult to stem, inasmuch as it was partly unseen, while the most active instruments engaged were entirely irresponsible. It must also be observed that, amongst other means, the agency of the Public Press—that potent instrument for good or for evil—was not overlooked. Not only were several widely-circulated newspapers supplied to repletion with matter, but other periodicals at the same time teemed with articles on the “Wrongs of the Kaffirs,” and on the misconduct of the Colonists towards those comparatively inoffensive people! In this work of detraction the *Congregational Magazine*—a periodical remarkable for its *ultra* opinions adverse to Episcopacy and the Established Church—put forth the following false and malignant libel upon the benevolent Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN :

“In January, 1835, he came as Commander-in-Chief, at the head of a large army, to ravage all Kaffirland, and to lay waste the whole country. These bloody exploits will render his name infamous, and his memory for ever execrable, as one of the chief desolators and destroyers of this ill-fated country.”

Such was the character given by a mouthpiece of the party in question of as able and irreproachable an officer as ever administered the affairs of any Colonial dependency of the Crown. After this specimen of audacious defamation, it will

hardly occasion surprise to find the following attack upon the military profession in general, and it may not be unworthy of note, that *a good deal of the present leaven is at the present moment actively at work in this Colony, the fermentation being kept up by some of the self-same parties :*

“ If these men [says the writer, referring to military men as Governors] must be elevated and enriched, let them be so in their proper spheres. Promote them in the army list ; make them generals ; give them companies ; stuff them with regiments ; saturate them with pensions, and gorge them with sinecures ; cover their breasts with stars and crosses, with garters and saints, with dragons and thistles ; but give them not Colonies to desolate, nor mankind to devour, and do not turn them forth from the Horse Guards to inflict intolerable evils on the human race.”

But even this, rabid as it is, was not enough ; for simultaneously with these efforts we find the *Aborigines' Protection Society* also actively at work against the Colonists. Thus, in the Report of this Association, referring to the affairs of this country, they state :

“ The Committee lost no time in seeking the honour of an interview with the Right Honourable Lord GLENELG, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, when they embraced the opportunity, promptly afforded them, of laying the case before His Lordship, and since then of conveying, in a documentary form, the verbal statements to which they had solicited His Lordship's attention.”

Another step was yet to be taken ; for great as is the influence of the Press in the parent country, and numerous and active as were the agents employed in fabricating and disseminating these false opinions, yet an effort was to be made in a particular quarter, where it could hardly fail of seriously damaging the already deeply injured and suffering people of this Frontier.

It will, however, for the sake of perspicuity, be necessary here to revert back a few weeks to remark, that upon the insulting dismissal from office of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, Maj.-General Sir G. NAPIER was appointed his successor in the Governorship of this Colony—a circumstance which the anti-Colonial party could not permit to pass away unimproved. Fully aware of the power and influence exercised by those at the head of the Executive in the several Colonies, a joint and a strenuous effort was made to prejudice *his* mind against the Colonists, and

to enlist *his* sympathy in favour of the Kaffirs, before he quitted the shores of England. This is gathered from the Report before referred to, in which it is stated that

“His Excellency expressed a deep interest in all questions relating to the Aborigines, and his full approval of the measures adopted on their behalf by the Lieutenant-Governor, Captain STOCKENSTROM, as far as they had come under his observation.”

The report also informs us that His Excellency was pleased, as a token of his regard to JAN TZATZOE, to request “his acceptance of a handsome present as a mark of his esteem.”

With his mind thus prejudiced, Major-General G. NAPIER arrived at the Cape in the month of January, 1838, and was received with all that respect which is due from a loyal people to a brave and gallant officer, when entrusted with important duties, and entering upon a new sphere of labour in the public service. That this arrival was looked upon with anxiety by the people of this Province will be easily believed; but still it is worthy of note that under all the depression of their circumstances, hope never forsook them. Strong in the justice of their case, and in the integrity of their motives, they still felt an assurance of ultimate triumph, and hence the arrival of this officer was announced in the local *Journal*, setting forth the public sentiments, in the following terms:

It is matter of very little moment, comparatively, to the inhabitants of this Colony, whether its Governor be termed a Tory, a Whig, or a Radical. To affect such political distinctions here is absurd. But it *is* of importance for us to know whether we are governed by an *honest* man—one who is superior to the *cant* of the day—who will see with his own eyes, and hear with his own ears—and who will weigh men, not by their professions, but by their actions.

Give us but a man of this stamp, and we care but little for all those conventional terms which distinguish a believer in certain political dogmas. What, then, is it we expect from our new Governor? It is simply, in one word,—JUSTICE. And we are sure we shall not give offence when we add that this it is our fixed determination to obtain. The inhabitants of the Eastern Province are misunderstood and misrepresented. No wonder, then, that error in government should have been the result—error that has led to the depopulation of some of the fairest portions of the Colony—which has caused thousands of its most valuable hands and best defenders to forsake the land, and which is still operating to impoverish the country—to excite dissatisfaction—to promote anarchy, and to cause distress in every direction.

That this error would have been rectified long ago, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, had not our late most excellent Governor been curbed in his efforts by the Colonial Minister. No Governor ever took such a weight of responsibility upon himself to promote the public welfare as Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN; and no one ever had such an amount of odium to submit to, as the consequence of his benevolence and of his zeal to serve the best interests of the country at large. Such an example might create in ordinary men a feeling of selfishness; it might lead to a conclusion that the main point to a Colonial Governor is to please the Minister of the day—to sacrifice conscience to interest—the good of the people to the smiles of patronage, and to a continuance in office. In the present case we do not fear this result. We have heard sufficient of our new Governor to convince us that, though we have a change of Governors, yet that we are still governed by a man of an independent, honourable mind; and it is not idle panegyric when we add, that the name of NAPIER is, in our estimation, a sufficient guarantee for the truth of the report.

Unfortunately for the Colonists, these favourable expectations were but very partially fulfilled. The bias which had been given to Governor NAPIER'S mind very quickly manifested itself as decidedly inimical, on matters of Frontier policy, to the views and opinions of the great body of the inhabitants. Governor NAPIER was not a man to disguise his sentiments. With a mind disciplined as a soldier to obey implicitly the commands of his superiors, he at the same time possessed a blunt honesty of purpose, which occasionally showed itself in a demeanour approaching to rudeness. Acting precipitately on first impressions, and not unfrequently giving, with the utmost dogmatism, opinions which better information compelled him sometimes materially to qualify, and at other times altogether to retract, Governor NAPIER may be said to have blundered through his term of office, rather than to have discharged efficiently the duties of it; and on looking back the only wonder is how an officer so utterly unacquainted with civil business should have been selected to administer the affairs of so important a Colony as this. After a very brief sojourn at Cape Town, His Excellency came to this Frontier, reaching the Western boundary of this Province in the early part of April, 1838. Here he was received by Lieutenant-Governor STOCKENSTROM, and whose opinions upon Frontier matters he appears at once to have imbibed and adopted, the effect of which was speedily manifested.

On the route of His Excellency towards this place the greatest attention and respect were shown him. Congratulatory addresses were presented to him from the several towns he visited, and it was in reply to these that he at once took occasion, with his characteristic bluntness, to make known his sentiments, and to rebuke those who dared to approach him with the language of complaint. A reference to the Port Elizabeth Address is a striking case in point. In this document the inhabitants had brought under the especial notice of His Excellency the following important matters :

We are unfortunately too well aware that our representations have not hitherto met with that attention to which we have vainly imagined that they were justly entitled. Knowing, however, that the very existence of the Colony is at stake, we are induced to make another effort by bringing these gravely important subjects under Your Excellency's consideration.

To the ruinous and mistaken policy so pertinaciously pursued in our relations with our Kaffir neighbours, and to the sacrifice of measures based on the principles of justice and equity in favour of visionary and Utopian theories, must we attribute the unfortunate results which we now deplore.

A policy which has had the effect of driving so large a portion of our most valuable Border farmers from their Colonial homes ; and which is, to this day, operating with increasing force upon those remaining.

We beg to call Your Excellency's particular attention to the smallness of the European force now upon the Frontier (not exceeding 1,000 effective men), a force which we conceive to be inadequate, under present circumstances, to the defence and protection of the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects on so extended a line of Frontier.

Nothing can be conceived more proper than such a representation as this—nothing more worthy of the deep consideration of an officer charged with the administration of the affairs of the people by whom he was thus earnestly addressed. Instead, however, of expressing any satisfaction at the honesty of the communication, he rates the parties for their presumption in making it in the following terms :

Gentlemen, you say in that Address that you consider it a duty you owe to yourselves and your families, to submit to me in respectful but *decided* language the grievances under which you are labouring, and which are fast tending to depopulate this once flourishing Province ; and then you enter into a general and vague charge against the policy of the measures pursued by the Government, and particularly against the treaties with the Kaffir tribes. Now, gentlemen, I *decidedly* tell you, that I accepted the Government of this Colony in the conviction that the former system, as regarded our Kaffir neighbours,

was erroneous ; and *I am come out here agreeing in, and determined to support, the system of policy pursued by the Lieutenant-Governor of these districts, in accordance with the instructions which His Honour and myself have received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State.* To that opinion, and in that determination, I still adhere.

With regard to your opinion of the insufficiency of the number of troops for the defence of the Frontier, till I have seen the line of defence, it is impossible for me to say whether you are right or wrong; but at the same time I must tell you, that upon such a point as the military defence of these districts I hold myself to be a competent judge, without the assistance or opinions of the gentlemen who signed the Address.

Quitting Port Elizabeth, His Excellency came forward to Graham's Town, where he was received with every mark of respect and attention. Here an Address was also presented to him, in which particular attention was likewise drawn to the Kaffir question, and also to that of *compensation* for the losses sustained by the irruption of 1835. The subscribers remark :

They would also most forcibly represent to Your Excellency that it is their decided opinion that the existing relations with the Kaffir tribes adjacent require extensive and important revision and amendment. They most respectfully submit to Your Excellency, that as no punishment is inflicted or demanded for robbery committed by the Kaffirs on the Colonists—however clearly it may be proved against them—it follows that that great principle in government which affords the strongest security to persons and property—the fear of detection and punishment—is entirely lost sight of, a defeat to which, in their opinion, may be attributed the fact that no week has elapsed since the existing treaties were entered into with the Kaffir Chiefs, in which the farmers of this Province, many of them residing at a distance of sixty miles from the boundary, have not been wantonly plundered, and that to a ruinous amount, of their property. They would further represent to Your Excellency, that the well-disposed of the Kaffir Chiefs are fully sensible of, and regret, this great defect, and they have reason to believe, would most readily acquiesce in any alteration which might more effectually lead to the detection and punishment of crime, and which would thus operate as a direct consequence to the maintenance of amity with the Colony.

They beg also to state, that they cherish a confident expectation that Your Excellency will, from your visit to this Province, be enabled to acquire such information and to form such opinions, as will induce Your Excellency to support that claim, which has been preferred by the inhabitants of this Settlement to the Home Government, for COMPENSATION for losses sustained by the late extensive and unprovoked devastation of this Province by the Kaffir tribes, and to which they conceive they are entitled from the justice of the parent country.

To these representations His Excellency replied :

Gentlemen, with regard to the opinions contained in the Address relative to the policy pursued towards the Kaffir tribes, and the inefficiency of the

treaties entered into by Her Majesty and the Chiefs of that nation, I must decidedly inform you, that upon those subjects *we differ so completely*, that I shall only say the Lieutenant-Governor entered into those treaties, and the policy you complain of, by Her Majesty's commands, in accordance with the instructions he received upon his appointment to the Lieutenant-Government of this Province.

Her Majesty's Ministers have fully approved of all His Honour has done, and Her Majesty has ratified these treaties. I have been appointed to the Government of this Colony under similar instructions, and am directed to give every support to the Lieutenant-Governor in his views and measures, and, above all, to see that strict adherence to the treaties is maintained by the Kaffirs, as well as by the Colonists. I have, therefore, determined to support His Honour's measures with all my power, and to the best of my judgment and ability. If, in doing so, I act unjustly, or exceed the power committed to me, those who think so have a right to address Her Majesty by petition, and I pledge my word that their complaints shall forthwith be sent home to be laid before Her Majesty. But I repeat, that *I fully agree in the present policy and measures towards the Kaffir nation*, and as I highly approve of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's conduct in the jurisdiction of these districts, so I shall support him in carrying the treaties into full effect.

Here, then, is betrayed so distinctly the effects of the previous training already referred to, that no wonder the Frontier inhabitants were alike indignant and alarmed. Still, it was evident that Governor NAPIER had not only forgotten his position, but that he had also mistaken the people of this Province, who were neither to be brow-beaten into submission, nor trampled upon with impunity. The Local Press of the day gave free expression to public opinion on the subject, as follows :

What, then, is the sum of that which His Excellency has been pleased to inform us? It is this : that he is an unflinching adherent of a certain Party; that he stands *committed* on questions which are to the inhabitants of this country of vital importance; and that all those measures in respect to the Native tribes, now in progress on the Frontier, whether right or wrong, beneficial or ruinous, he will support and carry forward with all the power with which he is invested.

The Whig Ministry have fully approved, as we are told, of ALL which the Lieutenant-Governor has done; and His Excellency, therefore, is "*determined*," as he is pleased to inform us, to support whatever views and measures His Honour may have adopted; no matter, it would seem—for there is no qualification, nothing to make the bitter draught palatable—whether those views and measures are working weal or woe for the poor plundered and abused Colonists; no matter whether they are producing confidence and prosperity, or whether they are directly tending to occasion wretchedness and want, and the depopulation of the country!

His Excellency, not having as yet reached the Frontier, has had no opportunity of hearing and seeing for himself, hence we may infer that he has availed himself of the Lieutenant-Governor's eyes and ears, and is thus, through this medium, enabled very conveniently to decide at once on subjects which a man of different mould would not venture to give decided opinions upon until time and opportunity had been afforded for the due examination of all the facts of the case.

It is due to His Excellency's condescending frankness that he should know that whilst HE is thus *determined* to adhere to a certain line of policy, the inhabitants of this Province are no less "*determined*" than himself that they will oppose thereto all those means with which the Constitution of their country has so efficiently armed them. They certainly had hoped to have been spared this ungracious task; they did anticipate that a branch of that family—a distinguished member of which has so recently enunciated one of the most heart-stirring appeals to the millions of England that has ever been recorded—never would have *pledged* himself to support the measures of any man, or set of men, *before* he had ascertained their true bearing on those to whom they referred. A transit from the shores of England to that of Africa has not, however, changed the temper and disposition of the inhabitants of this Settlement. Whilst, therefore, the same loyalty and patriotism glows in their breasts as in that of their countrymen at home, the same hatred to oppression still exists in all its force and freshness. In reference then to themselves, the very language of Colonel NAPIER we have referred to is so apposite, that we cannot do better than quote it as their political creed, and, as we trust it will be, of their children's children.

"The people of England," said this gallant and highly-gifted officer, at a public meeting at Bath, "are not marked on the brow with the stamp of folly, nor tainted at heart with cowardice. Their limbs were never made to clank the chains of the slave; their backs were never destined for the scourge of the task master. * * * The people can stand alone; and, countrymen, we will stand forth in the fight for freedom, with front as bold and erect as men ever stood. I know how this language will be interpreted. I know that in the oppressor's creed, honesty is called insolence; patriotism sedition; and I also know that on this particular question humanity and justice will be called atheism. What then? Are we to suffer every injury and insult than can be heaped upon us, covering our shame with the mantle of fear, and calling it prudence? The brave man scorns such prudence. He knows what he has to do, and he does it, regardless of personal consequences. He may fall, he may be stricken, he may die; but he dies proudly, and looking upward; while the coward slave, bending to the lash, is stricken just the same, and turning his back to heaven, dies with infamy. Both suffer; but what a contrast in the dignity of their suffering! My advice to you then is, to *persevere bravely and honestly* in the defence of your rights."

Governor NAPIER found, in the sequel, that the opinions he had thus formed, and so confidently expressed, were utterly untenable—founded in error, arising from a too credulous belief in the veracity and integrity of those by whom he had been

operated upon with a view to the subservance of their own purposes. He discovered at length, and frankly admitted, that a policy to which he was so wedded, and which he stated he was so determined to support at all hazards, "SHOCKED ONE'S NATURAL SENSE OF JUSTICE;" and, not only so, but that the author of it, by whom for a time he had been passively led and completely hoodwinked, was so unpopular that his continuance in office would neither be advantageous to the Colony nor to the Queen's Government!

Thus ends another chapter in the history of this misunderstood and mismanaged Colony.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR NAPIER'S PROGRESS.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Nov. 21, 1846.

THE preceding remarks will have distinctly shown the deep impressions made upon the mind of Governor NAPIER *before* reaching the Colony. It will be seen that he accepted office on the express condition of carrying out measures, and supporting a system, which the great body of the Colonists had declared to be inimical to their interests, and imminently dangerous to the whole Settlement. It has been *proved* that he was tampered with by a self-elected body of Philanthropists in the parent country; that JAN TZATZOE, the Kaffir chief, had been played off upon him; and that the effect of all this was to induce him to prejudge the whole case, and rashly to form opinions which, on better information, as will be seen in the sequel, were found to be worthless and absurd.

But, to continue the outline—we proceed to remark that no other excuse can be made for Governor NAPIER than that he acted under the honest convictions of his own mind. Hasty in his temper, dogmatical in his opinions, and imperious in his manner, he at once jumped at conclusions, without any regard to the data or premises on which they were founded. Thus he soon entangled himself in a mesh of difficulties. His first step on assuming his government shows, however, that he was really sincere in his belief that the Kaffirs were more “sinned against than sinning;” and hence one of his first acts was to direct the publication in the *Gazette* of all cases of aggression, whether theft or violence, committed by the Kaffirs upon the Colonial farmers. The object of this publication was evidently not to criminate the Kaffirs, but to expose the Colonists, and to show that *their*

complaints were without foundation, and their continual clamour against the Kaffirs unreasonable and unjust. It will be seen, however, as we proceed, that these Returns had a precisely contrary effect to this; that they were flatly contradictory to all His Excellency's fanciful notions; that they gave confirmation to all the grievances of the Colonists; and, in short, that they exhibit to the world a catalogue of daring aggressions by savages upon peaceful British subjects; committed, too, under the colour of *friendly* treaties, which never would have obtained credence had they not been avouched by such unexceptionable evidence.

On the 29th April, 1838, Sir G. NAPIER took his departure from Graham's Town on his first visit, and to hold his first personal conference, with the Kaffir Chiefs. He was attended by Lieutenant-Governor STOCKENSTROM, who, it will be essential to remember, had been constantly at the elbow of His Excellency from first meeting him on the Gamtoos River, the boundary of the Eastern Province. On the 1st May, Governor NAPIER held a conference with the Slambie tribes at Fort Peddie. At this meeting there were about 500 Kaffirs, many of them armed with guns, but the majority with assegais. The Lieutenant-Governor seems to have acted on the occasion as "master of ceremonies," introducing the Governor to them, at the same time upbraiding the Kaffirs with their aggressions, but nevertheless putting forth the startling declaration that the treaties had not been broken by them. This anomalous remark elicited from the local *Journalist* the following remark:

At the recent assembly of the Chiefs at the Beka, His Honour, in the presence of the Governor, declared that the treaties had been in operation eighteen months, and *had not been broken on either side*. Admitting this to be a *true* statement, in what a position does it leave the unfortunate farmers of this Frontier? If the treaty has *not* been broken, then murder and robbery are tolerated by it; then the Kaffirs may assemble in hostile array under the guns of our military posts; they may insult the British Representative with impunity; they may slaughter the Fingoes and drive off their cattle, though *under our protection*, without let or hindrance; and they may enter the Colony at pleasure, and plunder and menace the inhabitants without rebuke or punishment! That all this HAS TAKEN PLACE will admit of no dispute, but still, we are told that *no breach* has been committed!!! In the name, then

we ask, of common sense and reason, *what does* constitute breach of treaty? and *what*, under such treaties, can save the people from ruin and the country from depopulation?

Governor NAPIER does not appear to have been quite at his ease on this occasion, or to have manifested his usual confidence. It is more than probable that from what he had witnessed after crossing the Colonial boundary, the conviction had flashed upon his mind that he had been duped by those who had, as we have just seen, played upon his credulity. His Excellency, in addressing the Kaffirs, was brief, and his style subdued. He remarked :

He had come from England to see that the treaty was punctually kept on *both* sides. *The Queen of England would never suffer her subjects to be trod upon*; and his orders were neither to spare men nor money in their protection; that although he was an old soldier he did not like war, as he well knew the evils which resulted from it; but that if he were obliged to draw his sword, he would not put it up again until they were driven across the BASHEE.

We direct particular attention to the sentence in italics, as affording a notable instance of the wide difference between profession and practice, and in illustration of the remark, that “many big words may be used without any actual meaning”—a truth which is confirmed in the case under consideration by the fact, that at the very time Governor NAPIER was vaunting to the assembled Kaffirs that “the Queen of England would not permit her subjects to be *trod upon*,” the savages, only a few miles distant, were *literally* trampling upon one of the Queen’s lieges, an Englishman, at the same time daringly plundering him of all his property in open day, and with the knowledge of the Colonial authorities.

This case is so atrocious in all its parts, it depicts so clearly the cupidity, craft, and cruelty of the Kaffir, as well as the pusillanimity and feebleness of the Colonial authorities, as may well make the cheek of every right-minded independent subject of the realm burn with indignation that such scenes could be acted by savages within the range of the guns of a British fort, and under the eye and with the knowledge of the

Military and Civil authorities. The case referred to is as follows :

CASE OF W. CARPENTER.

W. CARPENTER came to this Colony among the Emigrants of 1820, and was located with them in Lower Albany. Here, finding his circumstances rapidly becoming worse, arising from the failure of his agricultural pursuits, he quitted that part of the Settlement, and proceeded into the Interior, where, among the Dutch inhabitants, he pursued with great diligence his trade of a builder. On the settlement of the boundary by Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, he obtained a building allotment in the outskirts of Fort Beaufort, then springing up into a rising village. On this he erected himself a comfortable habitation, fenced in his little plot of ground, and made a garden. He had established himself in great comfort, when, on the subversion of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN'S policy by Lieutenant-Governor STOCKENSTROM, a fresh boundary line was drawn, passing between the newly-established town and the property thus lawfully acquired by this individual. On representing to the authorities the hardship of his case, and applying for some compensation for his losses, the poor man was advised, in order to save his property, to keep on good terms with the Kaffirs, and to take out a trader's license from the Chief. This advice was followed, the necessary license being obtained at a cost, payable to the Kafir Chief, of £3 per annum. Still this did not protect him against the cupidity and dishonesty of the savages, he being continually annoyed and plundered by them. Having a flock of sheep, some of these were frequently abstracted. Attempts were made to get into the fold or kraal at night, but finding that CARPENTER and his herdsman, a Fingoe, were too vigilant and determined to permit of this, the savages ultimately crept, under cover of night, towards the kraal, and shot the latter, wounding him so severely that he died shortly afterwards from the effects of the injuries thus received. But not content with the commission of this deed of blood, the crafty savages took advantage of it to fasten upon their living victim the crime of murder, charging *him* with having

shot his own servant, the sharer of his toil and the protector of his property! The local *Journal* at the time furnished the following particulars, as related by eye-witnesses, of the deplorable tragedy :

About a fortnight ago a Fingoe, in the service of old Mr. Carpenter, having been shot at night, about 10 o'clock, Macomo had the affair given to him to decide, which he did by declaring that Carpenter himself had shot the Fingoe. After a mock trial, he was dragged away by Kaffirs ; his life being purchased by the whole of his property, which was seized by the savages. This took place on Saturday, on the piece of ground allotted to him by the Government, which has since been given up to the Kaffirs. They took all his cattle, 30 sheep, his tools, clothes, wagon, &c. Having piled up the wagon as full as they could, Macomo seated himself on the top of his booty, *smoking his pipe and laughing exultingly*, while his men, assisted by the Kaffir police, spanned in the oxen, and they departed, driving the remainder of the cattle before them. I was present during the whole of the proceedings, and I assure you there was not the smallest proof to convict Carpenter. Macomo, however, said, "*If he did not do it, he must tell who did !*"

The poor old man is now left, at the age of 64 years, deprived of his all, and without the means of getting a living. His wife, rendered frantic by the circumstances, was missing last evening, and was sought for several hours in vain. She has, however, been discovered this morning, drowned in the river near her former residence. Her bonnet and cap were found in the deserted house. Such a distressing circumstance I never before witnessed.

The following colloquy took place between MACOMO and the prisoner :

MACOMO : You hear that it is said you shot the Fingoe ?—Prisoner : I did not.

MACOMO : Who did shoot him then ?—Prisoner : I cannot say. I was lying in my bed between nine and ten o'clock, when I heard a shot fired on my place, and also a hallooing, on which I took my gun and fired over the kraal to warn off thieves, who I suspected were lurking about.

MACOMO : Who was with you when you went ?—Prisoner : Nobody.

MACOMO : Then *you* are the man.—Prisoner : I am not.

MACOMO : Then *who* is the man ?—Prisoner : I do not know. The man was wounded while I was lying on my bed.

MACOMO : Then *you* are the man.—Prisoner : I do not know who the man is, as the shot must have come from the direction of the river.

MACOMO : Then you must say *who* it was.—Prisoner : I cannot say, as I did not see the person.

MACOMO : Then you are the man who shot him.—Prisoner : I am not the man. I know nothing more than that I heard a shot fired, and learned afterwards that my servant was wounded ; on this I went out and fired off my gun over my kraal, out of which the sheep never went, as the witness stated.

This parley continued some time, and then all the Kaffirs began talking at once, and the result was that the poor man was taken across the river, the

Englishmen who were accompanying him being forbidden to cross the boundary.

On arriving at Carpenter's house, the same sort of mock examination was gone through, after which, by order of Macomo, the prisoner was seized by six or seven Kaffirs, *who dragged him along the ground for some distance, trampling on him to keep him down*, and prevent resistance. Two Englishmen, however, interfered with Macomo, who consented to spare his life on condition that the *whole* of his property should be confiscated. The following articles were then seized, loaded up on the poor man's own wagon, and carried off in triumph:—a quantity of carpenter's tools, all his farming implements, a pit saw, a chest containing wearing apparel, household furniture and bedding; three span of reims, a grindstone, a pail of tar, a saddle, two wagon chains, chest of glass, together with many other articles. They also seized and drove off thirty-two head of cattle and thirty sheep. The value of the property of which he was thus robbed has been estimated at £256.

It might be supposed that injustice and cruelty could go no further than this; but we shall find here, as in Milton's Pandemonium,

“ In the lowest deep a lower deep.”

To pursue the narrative. It seems that some few weeks subsequently to the events recorded, the poor man, finding his wagon and oxen in the streets of Fort Beaufort, they having been driven in by his savage despoiler, or some of his people, quietly took possession of them as related in the following statement:

W. CARPENTER is an old man, and is still suffering from the effects of four severe wounds inflicted by the Kaffirs at the time of the late irruption. Since that time he has been living at Fort Beaufort, and on Friday last, observing his wagon and nine oxen, which had been plundered from him by Macomo, as above stated, standing in the village, he, with the assistance of two Hottentots, had them brought to his place of residence, where he secured the wagon by fastening it with a chain to another which was standing before his door. A few hours after this a military sentry was placed over it, and the next morning he (Carpenter) was apprehended by a constable, and taken to the Magistratè's office.

SCENE.—*The Court Room at Fort Beaufort. Seated at a table the Resident Justice of the Peace, Mr. COLE; the Diplomatic Agent, STRETCH, and Lieutenant-Colonel GRIEVE, the Commandant of the Fort. Before them appear the Chief MACOMO and the prisoners, W. CARPENTER and the two Hottentots.*

The Court, with great courtesy: Pray be seated, MACOMO. [The Kafir Chief takes a seat in his usual dignified manner.]

To CARPENTER, who had been standing about two hours, and who, from weakness, was about to sit down: Stand up, sir, and take your hands from your pockets!

The culprit here observed that he was very infirm from old age, and also from the effects of his wounds. He was then permitted to be seated.

The evidence of Macomo's people was then taken in due form, by which the prisoner was charged with the heinous offence of taking possession of his own property. A crime sufficient, however, it would appear, to consign a *white* man to prison, and accordingly Carpenter was committed to the gaol of Graham's Town, to which place, notwithstanding his old age, his wounds, and his general weakness, he was marched on foot under a military escort!!! He was four days on the road—a distance of 46 miles—and reached town on the evening of Tuesday. On Wednesday the prisoners were brought up for re-examination before the Resident Magistrate of Graham's Town. The result was that Carpenter was admitted to bail, and the two Hottentots liberated on their own recognizances.

Another stage in this case of grievous oppression is thus narrated in the local paper of the 20th December :

This poor man, whose case is already before the public, appeared here on the 14th, having made *another* journey of 46 miles, but was informed on his arrival that the Attorney-General, to whom the preliminary examination had been referred, declined to prosecute; his bail and the recognizances of the Hottentots implicated with him were therefore discharged accordingly. It appears, then, that a friendless Englishman, 64 years of age, has been seized as a felon by a British Magistrate; that he has been marched on foot, under an African sun, a distance of 46 miles, in charge of a military guard; that the two Hottentots referred to *were marched that distance handcuffed*; that they were thrown into gaol at Graham's Town; that, whilst all this was going on, the property of the sufferer was left to the mercy of strangers; that his wagon and oxen were given up to the drunken barbarian, who had plundered him of them; and that all this has been done under colour of law, and on grounds which are now pronounced by the chief Law Officer of the Crown to be utterly untenable. Truly it is no marvel, when such transactions as these can take place in the face of day, that the industrious inhabitants should fly the country!

But this was not sufficient; for on the 24th December the case of this deeply-injured and poor man came before the Resident Magistrate for final hearing, he being arraigned as a culprit at the criminal's bar. The following are the facts as elicited on this remarkable trial :

ADAM ADAMS, a Hottentot, deposed: That on a certain day, at Fort Beaufort, he was asked to assist in bringing a wagon, belonging to Mr. Carpenter, to his house. He went to the wagon, which was standing at the Mess House. Carpenter was at this time in the town. There were two Kaffir women and one girl in the wagon; did not see anybody else there; the driver of the wagon was not there; his name is Booy; he spoke to the women, and asked whose wagon it was; they said Macomo's. He told them that when his time was out with J. Vaughan, he would go and live with Macomo, and

drive the wagon ; he told his comrade to go to a house next to Carpenter's. When he got there, he talked to the people and left the wagon standing ; Carpenter then came to him, and asked him to fetch the wagon in question to the house ; he told him he would do so if he received an order from the Magistrate, or if he were paid ; Carpenter said he would pay him Rds. 6 ; he then went and brought the wagon to Carpenter's house ; he led the front oxen ; Carpenter and David April went with him. The women he before mentioned were with the wagon ; Macomo's driver was above in the town ; two of the oxen were lying down, and Carpenter drove them up ; Carpenter drove the wagon himself to his house ; he did not say anything as he was going there ; there was a plough in the wagon. On reaching his house Carpenter locked the wagon to another which was standing before his door ; they outspanned the oxen, and tied them to the wagon ; he then went home. Before the wagon was locked Macomo's driver came and talked to Carpenter ; he asked why he locked the wagon ? and Carpenter said it was his property ; Carpenter said they must take out their things and leave the wagon ; this was all that passed ; David April assisted him in fetching the wagon, and in outspanning the oxen.

CLERKE BURTON, Clerk to the Resident Justice of the Peace at Fort Beaufort : Held that situation in November last. About that time he heard that Booy had complained of the detention of the wagon in question. He was present the next morning when an enquiry was instituted. The defendant was Carpenter. After the depositions had been made, Carpenter made a declaration, after having been cautioned as usual (declaration shown to witness, and on being requested to read part he accordingly did so, but it amounted to nothing more than what had been stated in evidence, viz., that the wagon in question was the property of Carpenter, and that he had requested the women to take their things out of it).

Cross-examined by Attorney JARVIS : He saw Carpenter before this. He went to the Justice of the Peace about some property of his, which he stated he had discovered in Beaufort, and wished to know whether he could not take possession of it. Carpenter saw Mr. Cole (the Resident Justice of the Peace) who said he was *no lawyer*, and he referred him to the law on that subject. He (Carpenter) then asked for the assistance of the constables, but this was refused him. He (witness) had some conversation with Carpenter, who asked him whether he had not a right to take his own property. He said "Certainly, but you must take the consequences ; I would do it."

By the Court : I was in the office when I told Carpenter this ; Mr. Cole was present. Carpenter after this was sent in custody to Graham's Town. Depositions had been taken on the same points as have been heard to-day. Upon these he was taken into custody.

Such was the trumpery evidence upon which this friendless Englishman had been thrust into gaol, dragged through the country as a felon, and placed upon his trial on a criminal charge ; and yet there was found an individual in office subservient enough to exert his utmost ingenuity to show that in thus taking possession of his own property he had committed a criminal offence !

The report of this case before us states that "the Clerk of the Peace, Mr. SELBY, quoted a great many authorities to define what in law constitutes—1st, a riot; 2nd, a rout; and 3rd, an unlawful assembly. He dwelt much upon the danger which *might* have arisen to the Colony out of the proceeding, considering the relation in which MACOMO stands to it, and he endeavoured to illustrate this by quoting the case of the Russian Ambassador, which gave rise to the well-known Act of the 7th of Queen Anne" (!!!) Such an instance of time-serving pliability, of contemptible apprehension, and of disreputable legal quibbling, is perhaps without a parallel in a British Court of Justice. Nothing certainly could be better calculated to bring our Courts of Justice into contempt, to alienate the affections of the people from the Government, and to excite a feeling of burning indignation in every humane and intelligent mind.

The upright Magistrate before whom the case was tried, despite of all the array of legal authorities brought before him, decided that no breach of the peace had, *in fact*, been committed, but that, *in law*, it might be considered constructively to have taken place. His sentence was that the unfortunate culprit should pay ONE SHILLING, and be discharged!

The local *Journal* thus sums up this case :

There is often, unfortunately, as much truth as quaintness in the remark, that "one man may steal a horse, while another is hanged for peeping in at the stable door," and truly the above case is no inapt example of the principle which this saying is intended to illustrate. Let any impartial man, who is an uncompromising hater of oppression, but read attentively the report which has called for these animadversions, and he must ask with wonder whether it be possible that a friendless Englishman can, at this day, have been so treated under colour of law? What are the facts? First, we find the sufferer obliged to submit to the seizure, by a Kaffir, of *all* his property; at one stroke reduced from comfort to penury, under a pretence which carries on its face the marks of absurdity and falsehood; he is shamefully maltreated, actually trodden to the earth by the brutal savages, the myrmidons of his oppressor; and he is obliged afterwards to endure the agony of beholding his aged wife, the mother of his children, stretched out a corpse before him, she having destroyed herself in a frenzy of despair, induced thereto by this monstrous and heartless ill-treatment. The second act of this tragedy opens where the sufferer discovers, near his own dwelling at Beaufort, his wagon and nine of the oxen, forming part of the property which had thus shamefully and illegally been wrested from him by Macomo. He proceeds to the Magistrate, and makes

his complaint ; that functionary declines to interfere, telling him frankly he is no lawyer ; he begs for the aid of the police, but it is refused ; he asks the opinion of his (the Magistrate's) clerk, who without hesitation tells him, in the presence and hearing of the Magistrate, that he is warranted in taking possession of his own property, and that he himself should certainly do so. The poor man, seeing that his wagon and oxen might *in a few moments pass the boundary of the Colony, and thus be beyond the jurisdiction of the Colonial Courts*, acts upon this advice ; no obstruction is offered him, nobody disputes his claim to the wagon and oxen in question ; the whole is transacted in open day, and in the most quiet and peaceable manner. But mark the result ! The wagon and oxen are again forcibly taken from him, without enquiry as to the right of property ; he is taken into custody as a robber, and on a charge of felony he is committed to the gaol of Graham's Town, to which place he is actually marched on foot, a distance of 46 miles, in charge of a military party. *Three times* is he required to make, and actually does make, this journey on this business, thus travelling no less than 138 miles, backwards and forwards. And for what is all this toil and trouble ? Why, when the case is brought to an issue, he is fined *one shilling* and discharged ! We do not, however, quarrel with the decision of the Magistrate ; he acted temperately and impartially. The culprit before him was friendless, and perfectly ignorant of law or legal proceedings ; hence, although there was nothing before the Court to show that Macomo was in legal possession of the property in question, still there was nothing to prove that this was NOT the case, a point which was adroitly seized on by the public prosecutor to press for a verdict of guilty. We pass this over, therefore, to remark on that part of these proceedings which shows the extraordinary readiness with which persons holding the commission of a Magistrate here, appear in this affair to have interposed their authority to screen a Kaffir, while acting towards a friendless Englishman with ferocious cruelty and injustice ; but that in the converse case, how sensitive they have been to the necessity of non-interference, when the party oppressed and plundered has sought their assistance, notwithstanding the wrong and violence amounted to that degree which is almost incredible. In the first case they do not scruple to act, where in the second they will not venture an opinion. Let the public of this Colony look at this case steadfastly, and we think it will discover (to borrow a figure from the popular delusion of the day) that the ANIMAL MAGNETISM of Exeter Hall is extending its baneful influence to this neighbourhood, that it is paralyzing the healthy action of the body corporate, giving an unnatural obliquity to the powers of vision, and filling the mind with the most absurd and frightful imagery. To return, however, to matter of fact, we remark, that the whole case is one which comes directly home to every Colonist. It must not be viewed simply as a question between the individual sufferer and those at whose hands his sufferings have been inflicted ; but it involves the great questions of the LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT, and the impartial and just administration of the laws of the country.

We have only to add to this that the friendless sufferer transmitted his case to the Honourable Advocate CLOETE (now Recorder of Natal) for the purpose of bringing the whole

subject under the review of the Legislative Council; but that his papers were returned on the ground that such presentation would be informal, and that the local Legislature had in such matters no jurisdiction!

Governor NAPIER, on being appealed to by the sufferer, asked, it is said, whether he thought the Colony was to involve itself in a war to redress *his* wrong*—the fair conclusion being that this poor man was victimised to the soothing system—to a fear, then in active operation on the mind of our rulers, lest the rigid maintenance of justice should irritate the savages to outrage, and precipitate a war!

Such, then, was the situation of the British Colonists, and such the posture of affairs on this Frontier at the close of the year 1838.

* Sir G. Napier stated, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1851, that the Kafirs plundered the Colonists to the extent of £4,000 a year, but that he thought this was not sufficient to justify interference!

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNOR NAPIER VISITS KAFFIRLAND.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Nov. 28, 1846.

THIS first visit of Governor NAPIER to this Frontier was in many respects an important event to the Colonists. It gave an insight into the views and temper of the officer selected by the Home Government to administer their affairs; and it placed them, moreover, on their guard against those misrepresentations which they could not but be persuaded had been made respecting both Kaffirs and Colonists, and which they were keenly sensible must ultimately, if not counteracted, work to their essential prejudice.

It is a memorable period also on account of the retirement of Lieutenant-Governor STOCKENSTROM from office, under the plea of leave of absence to England. On this event the local paper of the 16th August, 1838, thus animadverts :

On the 2nd February, 1836, it was announced in the *London Gazette* that Captain STOCKENSTROM was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of this Colony, and on the 3rd September following he arrived at Graham's Town, and assumed the duties of his Government. On Thursday last his successor, Colonel HARE, was sworn into office, and on Saturday HE departed from Graham's Town, as it is tenderly expressed in the *Eastern Districts' Gazette*, *on leave of absence* for England. Thus it follows that the affairs of this Province have been administered by him during the *exact period of 22 months and seven days*, quite long enough to test the character of his *policy*; and hence, we now ask his apologists to show in what respect the inhabitants have derived the smallest advantage from his government.

The administration of Captain STOCKENSTROM, short as it has been, will ever be looked upon as the dark era in the history of this Province. To *him* will be attributed the fatal policy which has left the isolated Frontier farmers at the mercy of the neighbouring Kaffirs. To his impolitic and supercilious

treatment of the farmers will be traced the spread of the emigrating mania; to his feeble working of his own system the frequent murders by the Kaffirs, the daily plunderings of the Colonial farmers, and the insults offered by the Native tribes to the British power.

Captain STOCKENSTROM has, moreover, placed the inhabitants of the Frontier districts in a situation where no British troops can effectually protect them; for let any military man look at the immense thickets of the Fish River, and then let him ask his own heart, whether that man has not betrayed the essential interests of the country who would permit such a tract of country, when once cleared, again to be occupied by a people whose hostile inroads into the Colony had been so extensive and frequent, and who had ever considered the impracticable and rugged defiles of the Fish River as their stronghold, where they could always find refuge and concealment, and whence they could make their incursions upon the Border farmers at any point along the line with a suddenness and effect against which no foresight can effectually provide, nor any means that we possess afford to the evil a commensurate remedy?

In the meantime, Governor NAPIER continued his tour of the upper districts, being received wherever he went with that respectful attention, as well as treated with that free hospitality, which is characteristic of the inhabitants of the Settlement. Still, despite of all the experience which His Excellency had gained, and the cumulative facts which had fallen under his observation, he does not appear materially to have altered his sentiments, or at least, if such altered sentiments were indulged, no expression was given to them. His Excellency clung to his opinions with the tenacity of a drowning man to a straw, and which, as will be seen in the sequel, forced him into the commission of inconsistencies, which would be amusing did they not involve matters of weighty and serious moment to an entire community.

Governor NAPIER reached the seat of Government, Cape Town, on the 8th October, 1838, and immediately afterwards put forth a Proclamation, declaring his intention of *seizing* the territory of Natal, and of putting down, if necessary by force of arms, the disturbances which had taken place between the Dutch Emigrants from the Colony and the Natives of that country. In the Proclamation Governor NAPIER states:

I do therefore hereby proclaim and declare my determination to seize the said Harbour of Port Natal, and to erect a Fort therein, and to seize so much

of the Territory surrounding the said Harbour, in whose hands soever the said Port and Territory adjacent thereto shall happen to be at the time of such seizure, as shall be necessary for the proper occupation, maintenance, and defence of the said Port ; and to keep possession of the same, in Her Majesty's name, until otherwise directed by Her Majesty's Government.

And I do further proclaim and declare that the sole object of Her Majesty's Government, in the proposed occupation of Port Natal, *is to prevent its being held by any of the hostile parties, and to secure, by such occupation, the power of effectual interference in maintaining the peace of Southern Africa by such means, and to such extent as shall hereafter appear to be necessary*; and that, for such end, the said occupation shall be purely military and of a temporary nature, and not partaking in any degree of the nature of colonization or annexure to the Crown of Great Britain, either as a Colony or a Colonial Dependency ; wherefore the said Fort shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be, closed against all trade, except such as shall be carried on under the special license and permission of the Government of this Colony, any clearance or permission granted by any British, Colonial, or Foreign Custom-house to the contrary notwithstanding.

On this Proclamation, and the despotic terms in which it is couched, the Frontier Journalist made the following remarks :

There appears to us in this document a great deal of undue harshness of expression, which we would fain believe is foreign to His Excellency's *real* feelings and sentiments. We decidedly think that this course of procedure is not called for by the circumstances of the case, and that it will be rather a hindrance than otherwise to the object in view, which we presume to be, that of recalling the emigrants within the Colonial boundary. Every unprejudiced person must perceive that there is much in the situation of the unfortunate exiles to excite commiseration—nothing to cause anger. They quitted this country—whether impelled thereto by just cause or not, is not our purpose at present to enquire—with the hope of bettering their circumstances, and they have taken possession of a waste and desert country. In their progress they have met with a series of the most trying disasters. Their leaders have fallen either the victims of treachery, or of disease ; they have been wantonly attacked by the ferocious barbarians of the Interior, and their wives and children massacred before their eyes, and they have been subjected, and are still subject, to privations from scarcity of food, which are most distressing to contemplate. What then, we ask, is the object of Government ? Is it to heighten this distress—to snatch the proffered food from the famished wretch who is eagerly waiting to grasp it ? We cannot, and will not, believe this possible, and are much more inclined to think that the real intention of the expedition is rather to afford succour, than to increase the distress already existing.

Towards the close of the year His Excellency assembled the Legislative Council, on which occasion he delivered an Address

to the members, narrating the public incidents of his visit to the Frontier, and the impressions made upon his mind by the scenes he had witnessed, and by the various facts that had come under his observation. This Address was, upon the whole, decidedly inimical to the Colonists, and yet it affords a most instructive page in Colonial history as showing the glaring inconsistencies into which an honest mind can be driven when committed to, and endeavouring to uphold, a dishonest system. His Excellency contradicts and confutes himself over and over again, and that in the most remarkable and decisive manner. One notable instance of this will serve as a sufficient example in point, and which refers to a question mooted by the inhabitants of Uitenhage in their Address to Governor NAPIER on his arrival there in April, respecting the Fingoes in the Zeitzekamma:

Reply of Governor NAPIER to the Uitenhage Address, given in April, 1838:

"In regard to your complaint and disapproval of the Fingoe tribe being located in the Zeitzekamma, as **"UNFITTED FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE,"** I have to answer upon a complaint being made to me respecting some of that tribe trespassing with their cattle and kraals upon the farmers—I rode over that part of the country and examined into the whole subject. I met the Chiefs, and I met the farmers. I made every enquiry among all parties, and the result was, I found that with the exception of a single case of trespass on the grounds of Mr. Duprée, no other complaint was made to me. * * * From my own personal inspection, and the opinions of others well calculated to form just views, being of long experience, and unbiassed by party prejudice, I am convinced the Zeitzekamma is the **BEST** and **ONLY** spot to locate this tribe."

Statement of Governor NAPIER in the Legislative Council in Cape Town, in December, 1838:

"It is my intention to encourage the formation of a Missionary Station, under the United Brethren, in the Zeitzekamma District, for the benefit of that industrious, useful, and harmless people the Fingoes, who were unavoidably located there, and have been reduced to considerable distress in consequence of the **UNFITNESS** of that country for the grazing of cattle during part of the year. I have recently learnt, however, that their circumstances have become more favourable, and I trust that, ere long, the condition of these poor people will be much improved."

Governor NAPIER is no less inconsistent in his remarks upon the working of the STOCKENSTROM system, for not only does he contradict himself verbally, but his own statements, made with a lingering desire to uphold a system which he stated he had come out pledged and determined to support, are flatly contradicted by his own official papers, and thus the whole case is involved in inextricable and absurd confusion and embarrassment. The comments made at the time will clearly show the justice of this :

A perusal of this Address has greatly strengthened an idea which a variety of previous circumstances had forced upon us, to the effect that His Excellency is most solicitous to screen the present administrators of the Colonial Department from the consequences of those egregious blunders, and that mischievous policy, which have brought this Province to the verge of ruin ; which have driven into exile some of its hardiest sons ; which have led to a miserable sacrifice of human life ; which have made it necessary to send an armament to a foreign port ; and which have caused a considerable additional expenditure of public money.

The tone of this Address, no less than its tenor, shows, we think, clearly that His Excellency is most anxious quietly to cushion several very awkward matters, which at this moment are forcing themselves upon the public attention. But His Excellency is a bad dissembler, and his design in this instance is too transparent to deceive any one ; and besides, there are many little slips of the pen in this smoothly-worded document which, when taken in connection with matters of a date but very little antecedent, throw considerable light upon some disputed points of Colonial history. For instance, His Excellency is pleased to inform the Council that on his first arrival on this Frontier he assembled the Kaffir Chiefs, and told them that he had had “ complaints of *constant* and *increasing* depredations committed by the Kaffirs, which, unless speedily checked, must inevitably lead to war.” After this, what shall we say of the administration of our Border affairs by Lieutenant-Governor STOCKENSTROM ?—what of *his* constant declarations of tranquility ?—what of the transmission by his myrmidons of this note to every part of the globe where our affairs can for a moment arrest attention ?—and what of His Excellency’s *own* declaration, of the 11th April last, where, in reply to the Uitenhage Address, he is pleased to state :

“ I am far from attributing the emigration to those measures (that is, the Lieutenant-Governor’s treaties) ; on the contrary, I attribute THE PRESENT STATE OF THE FRONTIER AND OUR PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH OUR KAFFIR NEIGHBOURS to the treaties entered into by Her Majesty and those tribes.”

His Excellency proceeds to inform the Council of the alarming *threats* he had dealt out to the Kaffirs in the event of their not refraining from their incessant inroads, and that *he* (not having the fear of the Aborigines’

Protection Society before his eyes) would, in the event of their contumacy, drive them, as before, across the Bashee. This certainly does appear very alarming upon paper; but, notwithstanding this, we believe after all it is very innocuous. A great deal is *said* about forcing the Kaffirs to fulfil their treaty; but we should be glad for any one to inform us what has been *done* beyond this. To say nothing of robbery, we ask what reparation has been made, or what punishment inflicted, for the wanton MURDER of a British subject—an Englishman—whilst peaceably trading amongst that people, and within the limits of the Colony? The answer is—none! Nay, we believe we may go further, and say that it has not even been thought *prudent* to make a demand for the murderers!!

We cannot quit this subject without noticing the astounding statement, placed upon record by His Excellency, that property is as secure *now* as it ever *has been* in the Frontier districts. What, then, we naturally enquire, is the *degree* of security which is as great as it ever has been? His Excellency himself has given us a solution to this problem, for the official returns show that between the months of March and August, inclusive, reports were made to the authorities that upwards of 1100 cattle, and more than 200 horses, were carried off from the Colony by the neighbouring Kaffirs, and this, be it noted, must be taken in connection with His Excellency's further admission, that "the Colonists had strictly performed their obligations under those treaties." In other words, the hackneyed excuse of "provocation" on the part of the whites, is utterly and decidedly exploded.

Such were the results of this first visit of Governor NAPIER to the Kaffir Frontier, and which, though unsatisfactory, was not without important consequences ultimately to the Frontier Colonists. The year 1839 was commenced by the publication of the accompanying tables, compiled with the utmost care by Mr. Notary-Public CHASE from the official returns, published by order of Governor NAPIER, and which show, as with a sunbeam, the merits of that policy which he had come out so wedded to and determined to support.

This valuable document is coupled with the following remarks by the compiler, addressed to the members of the Legislative Council:

Amongst the *very few* things for which the Colonists of this Settlement have to be thankful for in the reign of the present, Governor Sir GEORGE NAPIER, is the publication of an *Official Record* of the annoyances they are still exposed to under his own government by Kaffir depredations. Unfeigned and really grateful, therefore, are their feelings for the opportunity he has afforded them of being enabled to prove, through *his* means *especially*, that Kaffir outrage is *not* the consequence of "Kaffir wrongs;" upon which

RETURN OF HORSES, CATTLE, SHEEP, AND GOATS, OR OTHER PROPERTY,

Robbed from the Colony by the Aborigines, taken across the Frontier, and Reclaimable or Not Reclaimable, according to the Treaties between Her Majesty and the Kaffir, Tsimbokoite, and Fingoe Tribes, from the month of March to the month of October, 1838, as published by the Colonial Government, in obedience to an Official Minute, bearing date the 5th March, 1838 :

REMARKS.														
RECLAIMABLE UNDER STOCKENSTROM'S TREATIES OF DECEMBER 6, 1836.														
IRRECLAIMABLE UNDER STOCKENSTROM'S TREATIES OF DECEMBER 6, 1836.														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														
Total number of Cattle stolen, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Total quantity of Cattle recovered, according to Official Returns, during these eight months : Reclaimable..... Irreclaimable..... Add compositions for robberies not reported.....														
Leaving balance due to the Colony..... Or in value at average prices.....														

principle, however, this Colony is indebted for His *present* Excellency's administration.

* * * * *

In pursuance of the "Instruction" under which His Excellency undertook the government of OUR country, and to which it is understood, as well as has been expressed by him, he is *decided* to abide, he issued on the 5th March last a "Government Minute," directing "that in future monthly returns shall be published, showing the actual state of the civil relations between the Colonists of the Eastern Frontier Districts and the neighbouring Native tribes; the observance or infringement on *either side*, of the existing treaties with those tribes; the particulars of all depredations committed in that quarter during the preceding month; the means taken to recover the plunder, or to procure redress, together with the success or failure of those means," &c.

Eight of these "Monthly Returns" have now appeared in print, under Government authority and patronage, and all refer to events *since* His Excellency Sir GEORGE NAPIER undertook the government of the "Eastern Frontier Districts." These "Returns" are creditable to the government of Sir GEORGE NAPIER in just so far as they have opened, however narrowly, the floodgates of information—of FACTS—which no power can now be found able to close; the stream, small as it is, and *cautious* as it is evidently allowed to flow in by the sluice masters, it still deepening and widening its channel. and the time is not distant when "the truth, the whole truth," shall be admitted, and "nothing but the truth" roll uncontrolled until it reaches and rejoices in its kindred ocean.

Now, gentlemen, I venture to ask of you in the name of common sense—"common honesty" is out of the case—how the paid protectors of Her Majesty's lieges can account to their own consciences, to their young and benevolent Queen, and to us the sufferers, for having allowed upon a Frontier of 90 miles in length, 245 *separate* and distinct acts of robbery to take place within the short space of eight months—that is, above one for every day—in a time of peace, and when both a Governor (Sir G. NAPIER) and a Lieutenant-Governor (STOCKENSTROM), aided by the largest *permanent* military force ever known upon the Border, were together at one time on the Frontier; in which brief period—of peace, let me repeat the term, peace! emphatically peace!!—338 horses, 8,487 head of fine Colonial cattle, and 468 sheep, were carried off by a people once imagined to be "more sinned against than sinning;" out of whose number of thefts there still remains due to the patient, the "easily-governed" subjects of our Sovereign Lady, 290 horses, 1027 cattle, and 465 sheep; that is to say, the value of £5,400, or an annual average rate of £7,200 sterling, by Kaffir depredations, under the new or GLENELG system of Philanthropy!

But the Frontier, always kept in a state of disturbance, where robbery and murder have enjoyed their constant revel, has been that alone of the Gaika family; and the chief injuries inflicted upon the Colonists have been from the restless race to which that people owe their birth. The following table, drawn out of Sir GEORGE NAPIER'S "Returns," will perhaps bear out the

opinion, that even up to this period the same charge may be brought against them :

Names of the responsible Chiefs by whose people Cattle are known to have been stolen from the Colonists, according to the Government Returns, from March to October, 1838.

	HORSES.	CATTLE.	SHEEP.
Sutu, widow of Gaika	0	120	0
Macomo, son of „	9	46	0
Tyali „ „	4	32	0
Eno, chief „ „	0	3	0
Botman „ „	0	78	2
Denese „ „	5	4	0
Chiefs unknown, but thefts attributed to the Gaika clans	315	998	418
Creili, son and successor of Hintza	3	0	0
Mapassa, Tambookie Chief	2	206	1
Total	338	1487	421

These Returns at this moment are of peculiar importance, and should be kept carefully in view by all interested in the the affairs of the Colony, or who may wish to trace its progress until it ended, as predicted, in a “shower of blood,” in wide-spread ruin of property, and in penury, suffering, and want.

CHAPTER VII.

LORD GLENELG SUPERSEDED.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Dec. 5, 1846.

SIX weeks subsequently to the speech delivered by Governor NAPIER in the Legislative Council, as referred to in the foregoing, Lord GLENELG was superseded in his administration of the Colonial Office, an event which His Lordship stated to Parliament was "totally unforeseen and unexpected by him." He was succeeded by Lord NORMANBY, a nobleman who had filled the high office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and who had also been Governor of Jamaica, discharging these important trusts with distinguished credit and ability.

This alteration in the Colonial Department was hailed by the Colonies in general with great satisfaction. It was freely admitted that my Lord GLENELG was in private life amiable in his character, and upright in his principles; but then it was, on the other hand, insisted upon that in office he was both a weak and an indolent man; dangerous traits in the character of a Minister of State, rendering him peculiarly vulnerable to those insidious attempts which are sure eventually to involve him in the trammels of partizanship.

The intelligence of this alteration in the Colonial Office reached the Colony early in May, and in the month of July following the Legislative Council was again addressed by Governor NAPIER—one part of his theme being the state of the Eastern Frontier, and the conduct of the neighbouring Kaffirs. On this occasion His Excellency frankly admitted the continued aggressions made by the Kaffir tribes upon the Colonists; and also stated that MACOMO had endeavoured to incite the other Chiefs to make common cause with him in resisting a just

demand for redress of an offence committed by him and his people. Whilst thus proclaiming the frequent aggressions of the Kaffirs, he, at the same time, bears testimony to the irreproachable conduct of the Colonists:

"It would not be just," says His Excellency, "to pass over the fact that while much loss has been sustained by the Colonists, as stated in the Official Returns, I am not aware—except in one single instance, and that one of no importance—that any aggression has been committed by the Border Colonists against the persons or property of the neighbouring tribes."

It is evident from this, and, indeed, from the whole tone of this address, that the opinions of Governor NAPIER had undergone a very material change in reference to Frontier affairs. He had, it is clear, discovered that the policy he had come out so *determined* to carry out, and that the author of it, whom he was so anxious to support, were not so faultless as he had been led to believe. *His own Returns had exhibited to him, as in a mirror, the true state of the case. These had shewn, in a manner that nothing could gainsay, the intolerable grievances of the Border inhabitants, and the audacious aggressions which were continually being made upon them by the Kaffir hordes.* Hence, as some reparation for the unjust and harsh opinions previously expressed by him upon this subject, the declaration given above was made in the Legislative Council. But besides this, and as it were to make *full* atonement for the grievous errors into which he had been led, a despatch was forwarded by him to the Colonial Minister, recommending that Lieutenant-Governor STOCKENSTROM should not be permitted, on the ground of his unpopularity, to resume the government of the Frontier Districts. Accordingly, on the 31st August, the Colonial Minister officially announced to Captain STOCKENSTROM:

"I have felt it my duty to submit to the Queen that it is not expedient that you should resume the Government of the Eastern Districts."

This strong measure elicited, as must be supposed, a variety of remarks, as well as gave birth to many opinions. The *Times*, "the leading journal of Europe," descanted in terms of just severity on the treatment of the Colonists, and was followed in the same strain by a respectable portion of the British Press.

On the other hand, the Philanthropic party in the parent country were aroused to determined opposition. Their first measure was a remonstrance, addressed to the Colonial Minister, from the Anti-Slavery Society, the committee of which deplore, in reference to the retirement of Captain STOCKENSTROM :

The injurious impression which it is adapted to produce in the Colony by encouraging the enemies of the sound and philanthropic policy proposed by Lord GLENELG, and carried into effect with judicious energy by Captain STOCKENSTROM, to infer that their opposition has triumphed, and that a change of policy has been adopted in the Colonial Office.

The result of these efforts was, not a re-institution in office, but the grant of a Baronetcy, with a pension of £700 from the public purse.

In the month of October, 1840, Governor NAPIER again visited the Frontier, and it is both amusing and instructive to mark the striking contrast in his sentiments and demeanour on this occasion, as compared with his former visit. At Port Elizabeth, where on the previous journey he had exhibited so much impatience and discourtesy, his reply to the Address of the inhabitants was kind and conciliatory. Instead of dogmatically stating, as before, that he highly approved of the treaties, and that he had come out determined to maintain them inviolate, His Excellency frankly admits that they had, in the working, by no means come up to his expectations, and that some of their provisions "*seem to shock our sense of natural justice, and to be unsupported by any considerations of sound policy.*" He again admits that the Colonists had strictly adhered to the letter and spirit of the conditions imposed upon them; adding, that it was his intention to propose to the Kaffir Chiefs several material alterations—a design which was shortly afterwards carried into operation.

In December we find His Excellency at Block Drift, where a large gathering of Kaffirs took place, at which various modifications of the treaties were proposed, and readily acceded to by the other party. This was a step in the right direction, but it was no more; or to change the figure, it was rather the application of a palliative to, than cure of, a fatal malady. On

this subject the *Frontier Journal* put forth the following remarks, the pertinency of which is abundantly confirmed by recent occurrences :

The territory, which we understand by the special term of Kaffirland, is but a small section of South Africa. It has a seaboard of 250 miles, while inland it is at this moment completely hemmed in by the white man. The Kaffirs are aware of this, and this knowledge has a most salutary moral effect throughout the length and breadth of that country. No wonder then the supplicating look which is turned to this Colony, or the desire which is evinced just now by that people to screen themselves behind the shield of British authority. As British subjects, they would be safe there, but as an *independent* people they will be ever in jeopardy. Their independence will be in itself their greatest danger. By checking improvement, by perpetuating their barbarian customs, by tolerating and promoting intestine wars, and by inciting them to commit aggressions upon those who have hemmed them in, their independence, resting as it does on the forbearance of those around them, contains within itself the elements of their own destruction. This might altogether be averted, would but Great Britain stretch out her friendly hand to their assistance. When we say this, we are not advocating or contemplating the loss of a single acre of their territory. No, let their territorial possessions remain perfectly undisturbed, and let us interfere with nothing but what is hurtful to themselves, and injurious to others. We cannot do this effectually while they are independent of us, or in other words unrestrained in their barbarous heathen customs. There will be no moral elevation, and until this takes place it is vain to expect that any mere compact will wean them from those predatory habits which, formed in infancy, have become in after years almost a second nature.

From Block Drift His Excellency proceeded through the Ceded Territory to Fort Peddie, where another gathering of the Kaffirs, consisting of the Slambie and Congo tribes, took place to meet him. Here similar proceedings to those at Block Drift occurred, the Kaffirs readily admitting themselves guilty of the aggressions imputed to them. Governor NAPIER reminded them also that the cause of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 was not as asserted, and upon which the treaties had been founded, aggression upon them by the Colonists, but was the result of *their* continual depredations upon the Border farmers :

"You," said Governor NAPIER, addressing the assembled throng, "have sustained no bad treatment on the part of the Colonists, and I now appeal to you whether the Colonists have not kept their part of the treaties ever since they were made? I ask if there has been a single act of injustice of which you have any reason to complain, on the part of the Government and the Colonists? You will answer, None. I therefore appeal to you for justice towards the Colonists."

UMKYE, one of the Chiefs present, replied to this, that the Governor's charge was well founded; that *all* the aggressions were on their part; that these had increased in number, as in the time of his father, SLAMBIE, they were not so frequent; that this was to be attributed to treaties which gave encouragement to thieving, inasmuch as they held out the hope of the thief retaining the cattle stolen by him. UMHALA, another Chief, still more influential, acknowledged that the plunder of the Colonists had *been incessant*, whilst he was equally explicit in admitting the faithlessness of the Kaffir character. He referred back to the youthful days of ENO, said to be 100 years old, and he upbraided the assembled Chiefs with the fact, that although ever since that time repeated promises of cessation from robbery had been made, yet that up to that day none of those promises had been kept; robbery, he declared, was as rife as ever, and he called upon the Chiefs, before subscribing to the required condition, to exact a pledge from their people, that *they* would in future refrain from aggression upon the Colony.

In the month of March, Sir GEORGE NAPIER took his departure from the Frontier for the seat of Government at Cape Town, on his way receiving an Address from the inhabitants of the district of George, and in which was contained the following well-put and important passage:

We beg to convey to Your Excellency our high sense of the amendments to the Kaffir treaties, which, in Your Excellency's solicitude for the peace and welfare of the Frontier, has induced Your Excellency, so perseveringly, to effect with their Chiefs; also, of having elicited from them the free and important declaration that during the length of time which has elapsed since their late disastrous irruption into the Colony, and although their subjects have continued their usual depredations therein, they could not bring forward a single complaint against the Colonial Government or Colonists!!

The reply of His Excellency at this juncture is deserving of especial attention, and it is important it should have the widest circulation:

"I have great pleasure," says His Excellency, "in stating my hopes that the treaties, as amended, will now work in such a manner as to check the daring depredations which were so ruinous to the peaceful and industrious farmers, and of which, after four years' experience, they had such just cause of

complaint ; more particularly, as I must ever firmly declare, *that no one act of aggression or injustice has been committed by the Colonists against the Kaffirs since the treaties were made ; a fact to the truth of which the Chiefs gave their united testimony."*

On this frank and emphatic admission the local *Journal* thus remarks—and which is, *at this moment*, a sufficient answer to all the frippery that has been put forth to crush enquiry by those who, to subserve their own purposes, would fain heap odium on any who, seeing the all-importance of the circulation of correct information, are determined to promote it :

Every admission of injustice towards the people of this Colony, on the part of men in authority, is at this time of more than ordinary value, and hence must not be passed by without an effort to impress it indelibly on the public mind. That spurious charity which would forbid the investigation of truth, lest it should explode some mischievous fallacy, or strip off a little worthless tinsel from some favourite idol, must not be allowed to oppose itself to the struggles of the Colonists for justice. A manly, straightforward course must be pursued, nor must the vindication of the aggrieved and the maintenance of right be stayed by the mistaken interference of those who would fain crush enquiry, and by so doing serve their friends at the expense of public justice.

Governor NAPIER, soon after reaching Cape Town, again assembled the Legislative Council, and in the course of his address made the following important observations. In explanation of his motives for visiting the Kaffir Frontier, His Excellency states :

My motives for so doing were, that I had received from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel HARE, several communications forwarding memorials from the Frontier farmers and the inhabitants in general of the Eastern Districts, complaining of *the constant and daring depredations upon their cattle, horses, and other property, and of the frequent murders of their servants by the Border tribes, for which they could get no compensation or redress*, owing, as they conceived, to some unjust articles of the treaties, which they prayed might be so altered or modified as to protect the Colonists from the never-ceasing plunder of their cattle, which, if permitted to continue, MUST INEVITABLY END IN THEIR RUIN.

The Governor then proceeds to exonerate the Colonists from having given the Kaffirs the slightest offence for these grievous wrongs, the result, as he believed, of defects in the treaties, and which, after *four years'* trial, he considered it his duty to the Colony, whose interests he had sworn to protect and promote, to endeavour to correct.

"With these views," said His Excellency, "I undertook the task I had allotted myself, feeling persuaded that by impressing on the minds of the Kaffirs the exemplary and humane conduct of the Colonists, *who had never infringed those treaties in the slightest degree, but have long submitted to their losses with a forbearance that merited my warmest praise*, I should find little difficulty in gaining from the Kaffirs a willing consent to do that which their reason and great acuteness must point out as founded on justice; for I assure you, gentlemen, no civilized nation have a clearer knowledge of justice than the Kaffirs, when they choose to exert it."

It is satisfactory also to find His Excellency bearing honourable testimony to the character of the FRONTIER PEOPLE AND PRESS, which it had been the prime design of an anti-Colonial party to disparage and bring into public disrepute:

"I have also much pleasure in stating that I found a very general wish among all persons and parties to give me every support, *and to the public Press of Graham's Town I was indebted for avoiding all expression of opinion detrimental to the measure I wished to carry into execution*. In short, I am bound thus publicly to declare that, during the whole period I was on the Frontier, and particularly while employed in effecting the alterations and amendments of the treaties, I was cordially and sincerely supported by all; and I trust that the measure having been thus carried into execution with the free consent of the Kaffirs, and the public support and approbation of the Colony, the future prosperity and peace of the Frontier districts and our friendly relations with our *at present* uncivilized neighbours, will be secured."

This important and just admission is acknowledged by the local *Journal* in the following terms:

The impression which we conceive will be made on the public mind by the perusal of this speech, will be no less complimentary to the speaker himself than gratifying to the community to which he refers in such marked terms of commendation. This, too, is the more valuable when we take into account the distinguishing trait of Sir GEORGE NAPIER'S character, viz., honesty of purpose. This virtue, it should be remembered, although intrinsically so valuable, is not without alloy, inasmuch as it often leads the possessor into great errors; nor can Sir GEORGE NAPIER be, by any means, adduced as an exception to the contrary. His very excellencies have assisted him to commit mistakes. All the sympathies of an honest mind, and a feeling heart, were at the outset enlisted on the side of those who were *said* to be suffering wrong at the hands of the Colonists. Certified as this fact was by the Secretary of State, by a Parliamentary Committee, and by some half-dozen self-constituted Societies; boldly proclaimed, too, by certain hired orators, who thus profitably imposed on the credulity of the public at the expense of the Colonists, it was almost impossible that Sir GEORGE NAPIER should not have come hither as firmly convinced of the delinquency of the Cape Colonists as any conviction, short of ocular demonstration, could possibly be fastened upon the mind of anyone. But then, though a prejudiced, Sir GEORGE was not an ungenerous,

still less a dishonest, opponent. Though clinging with the characteristic tenacity of a sanguine mind to his preconceived ideas, he still has not refused to open his eyes to the light, nor to listen to the voice of truth. The result we have in the sentiments which are now placed upon record in the public archives of the Colony.

Whatever change may have come over SIR GEORGE NAPIER, none, at least as far as we are concerned, has come over the Local Press. It has ever pursued one straight and plain course, and for the very simple reason, that it was thought to be the *right* one. With this conviction it has endeavoured to make head against *all* opposition, and if Sir GEORGE NAPIER will but take the trouble to examine the subject he will find, beyond the possibility of cavil, that no opposition has ever been made, except when ignorancce, or bigotry, or partizanship, has attempted to break down the sacred barriers of truth, in order to trample upon the just rights of that community, of which, in some respects, the Local Press is both the advocate and representative.

In defence of these, the Press will never, we trust, be wanting in its duty. It has, we know, been branded with the approbrious term of faction, simply for having steadily opposed itself to the far-famed STOCKENSTROM treaties, but what is the result? Why, that Sir GEORGE NAPIER himself has been forced to admit that some of the leading clauses of those treaties "seem to shock our sense of natural justice, and to be unsupported by any consideration of sound policy;" and, more than that, he has felt constrained by this conviction actually to rescind or modify such *unjust* measures.

CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERNOR NAPIER'S CONCLUSIONS.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Dec. 12, 1846.

AS Governor NAPIER did not again visit the Eastern Frontier, the opinions expressed by him, as given in our last, must be regarded as the conclusions to which he had arrived after several years' experience, and a careful and anxious examination of all the facts bearing upon the conduct of both Colonists and Kaffirs. And what, then, are these conclusions? It is of the utmost importance that these should be kept steadily in view, and hence we here recapitulate them. They are :

- 1st.—That the Kaffirs have ever been the restless disturbers of the peace of the Colony.
- 2nd.—That the irruption of 1834-5 was not caused by aggressions on the part of the Colonists, but by the incessant robberies committed by the Kaffirs on the Border inhabitants.
- 3rd.—That the treaties made by Lieutenant-Governor STOCKENSTROM, and which totally superseded the measures of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, were, in some of their provisions, calculated to shock our natural sense of justice, and were unsupported by any considerations of sound policy.
- 4th.—That notwithstanding the iniquitous character of these treaties, in subjecting the Colonists to incessant losses, and exposing them to continual peril, no infringement of their provisions had ever been made by them ; but that, on the contrary, they had borne with the wrongs thus entailed upon them with a forbearance that merited his warmest praise.
- 5th.—That on the other hand the Kaffirs had continually violated their engagements, and that their daring depredations upon the Colony had been ruinous to the peaceful and industrious Frontier farmers.
- 6th.—That both the PEOPLE and PRESS of the Frontier had evinced the most laudable desire to promote his views in the settlement of this "vexed question," and that they had sincerely and cordially supported him in his endeavours to correct this state of affairs.

Such, then, were the opinions of Governor NAPIER in April, 1841, and to which he hoped he had applied a corrective in the alterations made by him with the full concurrence of the Kaffir Chiefs in the treaties regulating our Border intercourse; but scarcely had he given expression to his hopes, or turned his back upon the Frontier, than depredations were resumed with increased frequency and greater audacity than before. The abstraction of horses seemed to be the chief aim of the marauders, but many cattle were also taken, and in one case, at the end of May, the servants of Mr. J. HOWSE, when employed in constructing a kraal on his farm near the Koonap, were forcibly driven away by armed Kaffirs, and obliged to abandon the project.

Retiring to another unoccupied farm, the property of the same individual, eighteen miles east of Graham's Town, the same persons again endeavoured to establish themselves, but had been there only a very few days when an Englishman, named RUDMAN, was shot through the head in his own hut. The wife of the murdered man gave at the period the following account of this deed of blood :

She and her husband went to reside on Mr. HOWSE's farm, on the Fish River, about the middle of May last. Her husband, and those employed with him, commenced constructing kraals and building a house, and had been thus engaged for about eight days, when the Kaffirs commenced a series of annoyances. At night they would whistle around the premises, and frequently threw stones, by which one or two of the dogs were much hurt. Mrs. RUDMAN herself saw one Kaffir in the day time lurking about the place, at a distance of not more than 200 yards from the spot on which they were residing. They had been there about five weeks when a most determined attack was made upon the wagons at midnight. It commenced by a shower of stones, immediately after which the marauders fired at the wagons, balls passing through the tent and sail cloth, and lodging in a chest which was in one of them. The men, in the course of a few minutes, got to their guns and returned the fire of the assailants, and it is thought one of the marauders was wounded. However, they went off, leaving behind them two gun-covers, made of sheep skin, and discoloured by red clay. In consequence of this attack they abandoned the place, and removed to a farm about five miles nearer town, where her husband lost his life. To this place they were followed by the Kaffirs, and there was scarcely a night but what their whistle was heard, and very frequently their voices. On the night when her husband was killed, she heard the Kaffirs about nine o'clock. She distinctly heard

their whistle. The dogs commenced furiously barking, and she afterwards heard their voices, at which moment the dogs were driven violently against the door. She awoke her husband, who on hearing the noise arose and went to the door. She asked him whether she should get a light? He replied, in a low voice, No; he then went to the door, and was instantly shot. She jumped up and ran to the spot where her husband was. She found him sunk down on his knees, with his head leaning on the ground, and no gun near him. A Hottentot was sleeping in the hut close by the door at this time, and when her husband fell his head struck the legs of this man as he lay on the ground. She found her husband's gun, still loaded, in precisely the same spot where it had been placed before retiring to bed. She gave it to the Hottentot to use, but he was much alarmed, and expressed an opinion that they would all be murdered. She urged him to fire the gun, and as he seemed so agitated she went with him to the door, and saw him there discharge it.

Not far from the scene of this tragedy, the following daring act of violence is recorded as having taken place only a few days previously:

Two wagons were outspanned for the night near the Vee-Kraal Drift, on the Fish River. The wagon drivers and leaders were seated round their evening fire taking some refreshment, when five armed Kaffirs suddenly emerged from the thicket, and approached the spot where they sat. Their manner indicated their hostility, and the men sprang up and instantly sought refuge in flight, except one who jumped into his wagon and seized his gun. Before, however, he could use it he was assailed by one of the marauders, but from whom, after a struggle and receiving a severe contusion on the shoulder by a blow from a keerie, he luckily escaped. The marauders then broke open and rifled a chest of several articles. Their aim is supposed to have been *gunpowder*, but if so they were disappointed, as they did not appear to have found any.

The man who had been hurt succeeded in reaching the military post at the Koonap, about two miles distant, from whence a patrol of Mounted Rifles was instantly despatched to the spot by Major ARMSTRONG, the commandant. These men kept guard on the wagons the whole night, and in the morning were so fortunate as to find all the oxen belonging to them. The spoor of the marauders was traced for some distance towards Kaffirland, but favoured by the ruggedness of that part of the country and the darkness and length of the night, they succeeded in effecting their escape.

These daring and atrocious proceedings excited, as may be supposed, great and general indignation, and accordingly a public meeting of the inhabitants was held at Graham's Town, on the 21st June, for the purpose of taking the whole subject under consideration. A series of resolutions were passed at this meeting, and transmitted to the Colonial Minister, to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony, and to the

several editors of the Colonial papers. The following are two of these resolutions :

That the late daring outrages by the Kaffirs, or other Natives, on this Frontier, have excited very general alarm ; and in the opinion of this meeting call for rigid enquiry and for the adoption of such measures as may, if possible, prevent a recurrence of them.

That this meeting is of opinion that the frequent and audacious inroads of the Kaffirs into the Colony, and robberies committed by them, are to be attributed to the defective principles of the existing treaties ; and it is of opinion that tranquility can only be maintained by the adoption of a system which shall bring the Kaffirs within British jurisdiction, and place them under efficient control ; and the meeting is further of opinion that such a system will be the best and THE ONLY ONE calculated to benefit that people and to raise them in civilization.

The local *Journal*, in remarking upon these proceedings, makes the following comments :

The actual cost of the present Frontier system is threefold that of any former one ; robberies are equally frequent, and outrages far more daring than at any former period of our Border history ; at the same time we have brought these people into such a position, and given them in other respects such advantages, that unless we *do* alter our system (and this now is extremely difficult) we shall shortly find that we have raised up at our very doors a most formidable enemy.

Every day's experience convinces us that nothing can avert this threatened danger but a recurrence to the principles of the system carried into operation for a brief period by Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, and to which we have before adverted. The British Government must exert the power it possesses ; wholesome restraints and checks must be imposed, and a greater solicitude must be shown to *prevent* crime than to punish it. That the Government—if this Colony is to be retained—*must* come to this we are morally certain, and hence we look at every expedient which is resorted to, short of this, as the mere propping up of a clumsy rickety structure, which, after the labour bestowed upon it and the expense incurred, must eventually crumble to pieces and give place to one composed of materials more durable, and that is built upon a more solid foundation.

The occurrences we have detailed could hardly take place, it will be readily inferred, without engaging a good deal of public attention even in the parent country. Accordingly, we find the subject taken up and discussed with ability and good judgment by a respectable portion of the English Press. As an example in point, and the only one which our space will afford

room for, we give the following glowing observations from *Blackwood's Magazine* :

In fifty years more the Cape Colony will be one of the noblest appendages of the British Crown ; in a century it will be a mighty empire ; and, whether dependent or separate, it will be an object on which even the debased and fallen mind of the African cannot look without astonishment—without a sense of the causes which have raised this magnificent fabric of dominion ; nor without an involuntary, and therefore invincible, approach to its civilization.

There we have planted our foot, never to be retraced ; and we exult in this, not for its aggrandizement of the empire, not for its addition to our wealth, nor its opening to our population, but for its inevitable and incalculable uses to Africa itself. We are strongly inclined to believe that for this especial purpose the vast and magnificent portion of the earth has been given to the trusteeship of England.

But to the British settlements in South Africa we look for the most perfect, because the most regular, conversion of the barbarian to civilization. There the grand experiment of British laws is going on among a British people ; our language, literature, and principles will be exhibited there, undebased by the pursuit of pecuniary gain, unalloyed by the habits of rude and low adventurers. The barbarian will see our tribunals in their purity, our manners in their gracefulness, our Government undegraded by the sordidness of irresponsible authority, and our religion in the form of the noblest and purest Church that has ever thrown light upon mankind.

It may be matter of surprise that, with such zealous advocacy and such strong and indubitable facts, a Native Policy so mischievous in its tendency and so deeply injurious in its results should be persisted in. The solution of this enigma is to be sought, however, not in any doubtful construction of the facts of the case, but in the pertinacity of the Colonial Office in adhering to a faulty and dangerous system, and in the moral imbecility of the Executive Officer charged with the administration of the affairs of this Province. Thrown by accident into the position, Colonel HARE, the Lieutenant-Governor, was only anxious to get through his term of office with the least possible disturbance and trouble ; and hence, on every occasion of public excitement, his aim was to fritter away or conceal the cause of it, and to show that the danger so earnestly deprecated did not actually exist. This mischievous course was, it will be perceived, an unavoidable alternative. The *onus* rested upon this officer, either to neutralize the complaints of the Colonists, or tacitly admit himself incompetent to the discharge, or neglectful of the

duties entrusted to him. The former was the course pursued. Hence, in reference to the resolutions of the public meeting above-mentioned, a despatch was hastily transmitted to the Governor in Cape Town, declaring the Frontier perfectly tranquil, and that no danger was to be apprehended. The Frontier Press of the day thus indignantly remark upon this imbecile conduct :

The Lieutenant-Governor has stated that no necessity existed for the meeting, and that there was no cause whatever for alarm. "WE," says the *Commercial Advertiser*, "WE believe the Lieutenant-Governor." This we are not surprised at, for it is an extremely easy and smooth process, where facts are distant, and where self-interest is at stake, to *believe* what we *wish*. Doubtless the Lieutenant-Governor and the *Commercial Advertiser* can afford to be most magnanimous on such an occasion. No alarm was felt by *them*, nor was it reasonable there should be, if we only consider that one is at a distance of about 700 miles from the scene of action, and that the other never moves from his home but with armed troopers in attendance upon him.

Now, we ask, how in the face of all these indisputable facts, can any one maintain that the inhabitants of this Border should have remained passive, that there was no cause of alarm, and no necessity for any expression of public opinion? Let it be remembered—and this is the gist of the whole case—that stopping travellers in open day and rifling wagons on the broad public highway are new features in Kaffir aggression; and that these must be viewed as the more serious, inasmuch as the Kaffirs have possessed themselves of firearms, that they are daily becoming more expert in the use of them, and that, it is said, they are actually acquiring the means, under the very nose of a stipendiary officer of this Government, of keeping in repair and good order a weapon which in the hands of such a people is calculated to make them truly formidable. If such outrages as we have enumerated be encouraged by impunity, and be not promptly suppressed at the outset, no person, whether armed or not, military or civilian, will be able ere long to travel with any degree of safety along this Border.

It will be readily inferred that a weak and trimming policy, as above described, could not fail to produce its legitimate fruits; and hence it will occasion no surprise to learn that the impunity enjoyed by the offenders gave additional impetus to their aggressions upon the Colony. This was loudly complained of at the time, and also that the Lieutenant-Governor, instead of acting upon his own responsibility at the spur of the moment, was merely the organ of communication with the Governor in Cape Town. Thus, after wilfully shutting his own eyes, he was not very likely to afford much light to another, 600 miles distant.

Not only was the Government warned of the consequences of all this, but the danger was also clearly pointed out of allowing the Kaffirs, after being brought to the very doors of the Colonial farmers, to exchange the assegai and kerrie for the firelock and ammunition. On the 2nd September, 1841, the local paper remarks on this subject :

If the Kaffirs *are* to be permitted to exchange the assegai for the musket, let the trade be carried on in the face of day, and the exposed inhabitants be apprised of their actual danger. If, however, the Government do thus resolve, let it at the same time calmly calculate the amount of force that will be requisite to maintain the integrity of this country against future aggression. Any one who knows Kaffirland—a country of mountain, of forest, and of kloof—will know that a naked savage, expert in the use of the musket, cannot be otherwise than a most formidable foe. Let but the present system be continued, and in a few years the Government will discover to its cost the extreme folly of the present trifling. Maintain the Kaffirs in their barbarous independency, place guns and gunpowder in their hands, and if they be not destroyed themselves it will only be because they have been able to achieve the destruction of others.

The continuance of this irritation along the Border, and the increased audacity with which aggressions by the Kaffirs were committed, again brought the inhabitants together in public meeting, which was held in the Freemasons' Hall, on the 30th September. On this occasion the following resolution was unanimously passed, and directed to be transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Chairman of the meeting :

That this meeting is of opinion that the existing policy towards the Native tribes is either insufficient to preserve the peace of the Colony and to secure the property of the inhabitants against continual plunder, or that those who have the working of it fail in the discharge of those duties which are entrusted to them ; that, in either case, this meeting is of opinion that the interference of Her Majesty's Government is imperatively called for, inasmuch as that while the Kaffirs are rapidly increasing their means of aggression, the Border inhabitants are becoming daily, from continual robberies, less able to resist them. That under these circumstances this meeting cannot hesitate to express an opinion, that unless a more vigorous policy be adopted, one which shall retain the Kaffirs from the commission of that robbery and violence which are now of such frequent occurrence, that the consequences will be a constantly increasing expenditure for the protection of the Frontier, and the frustration of all those hopes which have been indulged of this fine Province attaining to that eminence to which, with its valuable products, its rare

advantages of position, of soil, and of climate, and with the active enterprise and unceasing industry of its inhabitants, it is unquestionably capable.

On this occasion the following allusion was made by one of the speakers to the proceedings in India of Major-General WILLSHIRE, an officer formerly commanding on this Frontier, which it was contended ought in principle to be adopted in dealing with the Kaffir tribes. Referring to the siege of Khelat, and capture of that stronghold :

“Why,” said the speaker, “should not equal vigour be manifested here? Why should not British property and life be held equally sacred? He felt morally certain that until the Kaffirs were restrained by British power, and the whole country brought within the pale of British jurisdiction, the Colony would never be safe; that robbery would continue, and *that aggression would go on until it ended either in the ruin of the Colony or the destruction of the Kaffir tribes.*”

Notwithstanding, however, all these struggles and remonstrances on the part of the Border inhabitants, the year 1841 closed upon them without the slightest amelioration of their circumstances; and hence the local paper, in summing up the events of the period, thus remarks :

Our greatest cause of complaint arises from the character of our relations with the neighbouring Kaffirs, and the losses and irritation which our Frontier farmers are continually suffering by these restless people. The folly and imbecility of the measures hitherto adopted are alike remarkable. The districts bordering on the Kaffir territories are unquestionably the finest and most productive in the Colony, and yet the inhabitants are permitted to be constantly plundered, and the whole country kept in a continual state of commotion, by a mere handful of barbarians, who are rather incited to plunder by impunity than restrained from the commission of it by measures suited to their characters and the state of society among them. With three regiments of soldiers to protect the Frontier, the Frontier is unprotected, while we are actually raising by our folly an insignificant power into a formidable one, and which, when better armed, better mounted, and better informed—and in all these particulars the Kaffirs are improving daily—will be a most *expensive* scourge to the country.

Nothing can display in a stronger light the difficulties against which the Colonists had to contend, and the disadvantages under which they laboured, arising from their great distance from the Seat of Government, than the following brief and

cavalier reply of the Colonial Minister, to the resolution of the Graham's Town public meeting of June 21, before given :

“Downing Street, 19th October, 1841.

“SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 68, of the 10th July last, with the resolutions therein enclosed, which were adopted at a public meeting held at Graham's Town on the 21st June last, for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the Eastern Frontier, together with a Report from the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject.

“In regard to these resolutions, I consider it unnecessary at present to say more than that I concur with you in thinking that there is no sufficient reason for disturbing the arrangements which were made five years ago for determining the relations which were thenceforward to subsist between the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the Kaffir tribes.

“I have, &c.,

“STANLEY.”

To Major-General Sir GEORGE NAPIER, K.C.B., &c., &c., &c.

Such were the rebuffs with which the suffering inhabitants of this Province were met in their *Constitutional* endeavours to obtain redress of their aggravated grievances. Every struggle served but to plunge them deeper into difficulty, and so in this instance, at the very moment this reply of the Colonial Minister was received, the Kaffirs were actually meditating an extensive, if not a general, inroad into the Colony. The Missionary WEIR had been driven by the Chief UMHALA with contumely from his Station, and excesses were committed within the Colonial boundary, which are thus briefly enumerated in the local paper of the 12th May, 1842 :

By the reluctant *admission* then of the Government authorities themselves, we learn that the Kaffirs have succeeded in committing, during the last three months, fifty-one distinct acts of robbery upon the Colonial farmers, for which the Chiefs are not responsible, or bound to make any compensation to the sufferers; that in these forays the Kaffirs have carried off eighty-five horses, two hundred and eighty-seven cattle, and seventy sheep, out of which have only been recovered seventeen horses, seventy-eight cattle, and fourteen sheep. Nor does it appear from this return that these losses have been occasioned by the omission of any necessary precaution on the part of the Border inhabitants; inasmuch as in *ten* instances kraals have been forced during the night, and cattle carried off in spite of all the vigilance of the farmer to secure them. In *three* instances cattle have been stabbed to death. In one case, a party of seven armed Kaffirs came to the homestead of a farmer

who had been plundered, seized one of the children there, and extorted from it a confession as to the identity of the person who had resisted an attempt to rob the place a few nights before. In another instance a female domestic of one of our farmers, and three children, were seized by a party of five armed Kaffirs, who stripped them stark naked, maltreating and driving them along the road with stolen cattle, and at last only refraining from shooting the poor woman from a fear that the report of a gun might attract notice and lead to their own detection !

These atrocities, be it remembered, are not *our* reports, but admissions made and published by *the Government* ! And what is said of the Colonists ? Why, detraction itself dare not emit so much as a whisper in reference to them which can serve as an apology for this incessant disturbance of their repose and ruinous spoliation of their property. The patience, the fortitude, and the forbearance displayed by the Frontier inhabitants under such irritating circumstances are beyond all praise, and well entitle them to the respect of their fellow-subjects and to prompt and effectual redress from the British Government.

We need add nothing to this dismal catalogue of wrongs inflicted upon the inhabitants of this Frontier—upon British subjects claiming the sympathy and entitled to the protection of the British Government. The simple narration is calculated to make a deeper impression than the most laboured commentary, and if duly pondered may remove all surprise at the events which transpired in 1846—at the ruin of the Frontier districts, or the enormous expenditure entailed upon the British public.

CHAPTER IX.

MIGRATION OF THE DUTCH FARMERS.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Dec. 19, 1846.

IT will be seen that the course pursued by the Frontier inhabitants to obtain redress of the grievous wrongs they were daily suffering at the hands of the Kaffirs, were perfectly *Constitutional*. In language firm, yet respectful, they appealed to their Sovereign, to the Imperial Parliament, to the Colonial Minister, and to the Local Executive; and they reiterated these appeals without for a moment wavering in their loyalty, or faltering in the expression of their hopes of succour and support from their Government.

But the fidelity of history requires it should be stated that these hopes were not shared by a large number of the old Frontier inhabitants, who, rather than continue to endure the trials to which the Border farmers were subjected, resolved to fly the country, and to plunge into the Interior beyond the pale of British jurisdiction. *This step entailed upon the Government great embarrassment, a large expenditure of public money, and a lamentable waste of human life.* In a memoir addressed by the Council of the Emigrants, dated Pietermaritzburg, Feb. 21, 1842, it is distinctly set forth that among the causes of their abandonment of the Colony, were the refusal of compensation for their losses by the Kaffir irruption of 1835; the dismissal of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN from the Governorship of the Colony; the appointment of "political speculators," whose Frontier systems exposed them to the continual robberies and threats of the Kaffirs. "And what," the unfortunate emigrants ask :

"What have we done under these sufferings? Have we taken recourse to arms, claiming our rights, as has lately been the case in the Canadas? No, we gave up our coat to him who had taken our cloak; we even sold off our

farms at low prices. We openly notified to Government that we were going to leave our country and its jurisdiction; we were allowed to do so—at least we were not forbidden.”

It would be foreign to the purpose of these papers to review or dwell upon the proceedings of the emigrants across the Colonial boundary; but it may be necessary to remark, that the Government found it ultimately expedient to despatch an armament to Natal to repress a spirit which had there sprung up decidedly inimical to British interests in South Africa. In the first collision with the emigrants the British force sustained a loss of 34 killed, 63 wounded, and 6 missing.

Without any reference to the merits of this melancholy case, it is right the matter should be brought forward for the purpose of placing in a strong light, by contrast, the endurance and patience of the Border inhabitants who maintained their ground, and who faithfully adhered to the Colony and to the British Government, despite of the aggressions and attacks of their foes on the one hand, and of the reproaches and indifference of their friends on the other. The course taken by the seceding party has cost the British Government little less than half a million of money; whereas, *the steady fidelity* of those who remained has spared the Colonial authorities a vast augmentation, both of expense and embarrassment, and justly entitles them to the high consideration of their country. As good citizens they have faithfully warned the Government of the impending danger, and would, had their warnings been listened to and their advice adopted, have saved it from that heavy expenditure which has since been incurred, and from all the difficulties by which it has been and is now embarrassed. It remains to be seen whether conduct so commendable, and loyalty so unshaken, will meet with its deserved reward; or whether the parties will be permitted to fall the victims of misrepresentation, and to an adherence to a line of duty which, as subjects of Great Britain, ought to ensure them respect, sympathy, succour, and compensation.

But to return to the history of the Frontier. It may be remarked, that every daring act of aggression committed by the

Kaffirs with impunity, was only the precursor of others of a still more atrocious character; a fact which speaks louder than a thousand arguments as to the folly of tampering with these people by allowing offences to accumulate, instead of dealing with them summarily, and exacting rigid redress of every well-grounded offence committed by them upon the Colonists. Thus, in the case under consideration, no sooner had the death of RUDMAN been passed over, than aggressions by these people were marked by increased audacity. Not merely were cattle grazing in the veldt, carried off, but frequently kraals were forced at night; and, in one case, a high stone wall in the very centre of Graham's Town was broken down, and two valuable horses, the property of Mr. C. FULLER, successfully got through the aperture, and taken across the Border. Attempts were made on the lives of two or three of the Colonists, while the Fingoes, residing under "British protection" near Fort Peddie, were boldly attacked, a Fingoe Chief wounded, and sixty head of cattle swept away by the aggressors. The Kaffir Chief KAMA, the best conducted Chief in the country, was also menaced by his more powerful compeers, and, there is little doubt, would have been fallen on and destroyed for his fidelity to the Colony had it not been for the interposition of the British troops, which were called out to protect him. An intelligent individual, residing across the Border near the spot, thus refers, under date April 11th, 1842, to the state of affairs at this period:

It is the arms and ammunition, now in the possession of the Kaffirs, which make them so unsettled. They do not scruple to defy the Colony, and say they can seize the cattle of the Colonists whenever they please, and, having horses, can do it speedily. I have hardly occasion to tell you that they seem almost ripe for another inroad into the Colony. They are daring beyond belief. They have attacked the Fingoes, though living under the guns of a British fort, with a garrison of upwards of 100 men. Our treaties are trampled under foot, and our Missionaries are spending their strength for naught. These are the fruits of impolitic measures, and of gun-selling. Our Government has been faithfully warned, and, for the sixth time, I now warn them, that by inefficient measures they are hazarding the lives and property of the inhabitants of the Frontier.

The excitement on the Frontier at this period was considerably increased by the death of the Chief TYALI, and a diabolical

attempt, on the part of MACOMO and other of the Kaffir Chiefs, to destroy SUTU, formerly the "great wife" of the well-known Chief GAIKA, and which was only averted by the timely interference of the Colonial Government. At the same time a Dutch farmer, named ODENDAAL, and his Hottentot servant were both murdered while in the field looking after their cattle, under circumstances thus detailed and published at the time :

On Friday, D. ODENDAAL went out to visit his flocks, and has never returned. Search has been made for him everywhere, but to no effect. This morning the spot, where the scuffle took place, was found, and also a broken knobbed stick covered with blood. The lower jaw bone of a Hottentot in ODENDAAL'S service, who was murdered a few weeks ago on the same farm, has also been found. The farmers are in a state of great excitement ; they were just returning home from their little encampments, having been assured that there was no danger, when, within the same week, the murder of ODENDAAL is committed, supposed to be by Kafirs who came to the house that morning with a pass.

As though the cup of wretchedness presented to the family of this murdered man had not been sufficiently filled, the widow and children were attacked and plundered as they fled from the scene of the tragedy to a place of greater safety. This is thus recorded among the public events of the day :

The family of poor ODENDAAL, while pursuing their melancholy journey from their farm on the Kat River to a place of greater safety, were plundered of 30 head of cattle. Is not this cruel and barbarous in the extreme ? Not content with murdering the husband, they next attempt to deprive the widow and orphans of their means of subsistence. The spoor has been traced over the boundary, and the matter reported to the military at Fort Beaufort, but at present there is no police that can be spared to go in pursuit.

A few days subsequent to this, two of the servants on the farm Maastrom, the estate of Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, were shot dead while endeavouring to rescue cattle which the Kaffirs were attempting to carry off. The details of this case are thus recorded on the 9th June, 1842 :

Last evening a letter was received from Mr. HEWITSON, the agent of Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, at Maastrom, stating that the establishment was alarmed by a report that the Kaffirs were stealing the cattle. The men ran immediately to the known Kaffir passes on the hill behind the house, when they discovered that their own cattle were not those which the Kaffirs were in possession of ; but as they had often done before, they resolved to recover them whoever might be the owner. In this attempt two gallant fellows,

Bechuanas, or, as they are improperly called, Mantatees, were shot dead on the spot. Mr. HEWITSON deeply laments their loss, as will Sir ANDRIES when he hears of it. They had both been long residents there, well-known trusty men, and good Christians. They had accumulated good property by their industry, and were heads of large families.

About this period the Right Honourable Lord AUCKLAND, on his return from India, where he had administered the high office of Governor-General, put into Port Elizabeth. Here His Lordship was treated with the courtesy befitting his high rank and character. Appearing to take a lively interest in the Colony, some memoranda were drawn up by the public-spirited residents of that place and presented to him, containing amongst other matters the following in reference to the affairs of the Frontier:

The present Frontier system, which was introduced during the administration of Lord GLENELG, by Lieutenant-Governor STOCKENSTROM, has been generally condemned as being most partial and unjust in its operation to the prejudice and loss of the Colonists, and in favour of the Kaffirs. Every obstacle is thrown in the way of the recovery of property by the farmers, and encouragement, amounting almost to a bounty, is held out to the depredator by the extraordinary clauses of treaties that have been characterized by the present Governor as "imposing conditions upon the Colonial farmers which seem to shock our sense of natural justice, and to be unsupported by any consideration of sound policy," while he has repeatedly admitted that not a single act of aggression has been traced to the Colonists, whom he has lauded for their forbearance.

Notwithstanding this, the treaties in question have been only partially modified, and no decrease in the amount or frequency of the depredations has taken place since those modifications were effected. As a result of this state of things, the farmers living along the Border are kept in a most harrassing state of excitement and alarm, and are subject to continued and most disheartening losses.

The general conviction now entertained is that no remedy for this increasing evil is to be found, but in a return to the benevolent and comprehensive measures of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN.

Not a day passed at this period without the commission of robbery or violence by the Kaffirs within the Colony, and very frequently of the two combined, of which the following is an example:

On the evening of the 22nd June, a daring attack was made upon the cattle herds of Messrs. FERRAIRA and RENSBERG, residing on Mr. KEETON'S farm on the western side of the hills which skirt Graham's Town, and at only

a distance of about five miles from it. They were returning to the kraals, when, on passing a bushy ravine, five Kafirs presented themselves, four armed with guns, and one with assagais. These marauders immediately seized the two herdsman, and, having bound them to a tree, very coolly proceeded to select from the herd the choicest cattle. Having driven out forty-three head, three of the robbers went off with them, leaving the other two as guard over the two men, and to prevent them from raising an alarm until they should have got to a sufficient distance.

It is calculated that at this period no less than 400 head of cattle, besides horses, were taken by the Kaffirs within the preceding four weeks from the neighbourhood of the Koonap alone, and an inhabitant of that part remarks in reference to the subject :

I cannot describe the feelings of sincere pity that so naturally arise, when I see the poor farmers coming here, day after day, looking the very picture of misery and despondence, to report the loss of their cattle and of the *spoor*, in consequence of rain, or from some other cause, against which it is impossible to provide, and who, in losing their cattle, are deprived of the means of providing their families with the common necessities of life. I should like to know how long the patience of British subjects can be expected to hold out under such aggravating circumstances? Would it be surprising were they to take the rod of Justice into their own hands, and retaliate on the people who have, for so many years past, so shamefully plundered them? Had different measures been adopted on the Frontier at first, what a world of trouble, of expense, and of bloodshed would have been saved ! ”

It is very evident that such statements as are here recorded are calculated to induce great incredulity; but, fortunately for the sufferers, they do not rest on private or individual affirmation. They are admitted by the authorities themselves. Thus, early in August, 1842, the Lieutenant-Governor proceeded to Block Drift, in the Ceded Territory, and there assembled the Gaika Chiefs, whom he upbraided with their incessant robberies and aggressions. The following minute upon this subject is on record :

His Honour expostulated with the Chiefs at considerable length, and in very forcible terms dwelt on the baseness and faithlessness of their conduct in suffering their people to plunder the Colony in the way they had been doing, and which had been carried to such a length, and conducted with such audacity, that even those who had ever shewn a disposition to befriend them were compelled to give up their case as hopeless, and to admit that they were without excuse. That he held in his hand an account of 2,180 head of cattle, and 240 horses, which had been stolen from the Colony since his visit there in

April last, and that these cases were undeniable, as he had not brought forward a single instance on which he had not full proof of their guilt."

His Honour's demand for the restoration of these stolen cattle, or an equivalent in kind, was not only evaded, but, as will be seen subsequently, the bare intimation of a determination to enforce compliance was met by preparation for a general war upon the Colony. This was, however, preceded by another attack on the Fingoes at Fort Peddie, in which eighty head of cattle were swept off by the assailants. At the close of the month (August), the Government published a return of the depredations and acts of violence committed by the Kaffirs upon the Colonists for the quarter ending 30th June, which document is thus briefly adverted to by the local paper of the day :

These returns exhibit such a state of disorder on this Frontier as is quite sufficient to mark, with the deepest approbrium, that policy which has led to such anarchy, and inflicted such deep and unmerited injury upon the Colonial farmers. This policy, be it remembered, is based upon what is styled *Philanthropic* principles ; how falsely, will be apparent from the fact that, setting aside all the robberies and aggressions committed, no less than *nine* lives have been destroyed in this Border warfare within the three months there referred to. In four instances Colonists have fallen by the hand of the savage aggressors, while five Kaffirs have been shot in the act of making off with the property of the Border farmers.

The design above referred to, of boldly attacking the Colony, was brought under the public notice at the end of September, in the following published statement :

"Sandili, the principal Chief of the Gaika tribe, is, at this moment, in a course of correspondence with all the Chiefs of Kaffirland on the subject of a war with the Colony. In other words, he is sending the customary formal intimation to all the "great places" (Hintza's tribe and the Tambookies included) of his wish to commence hostilities, and inviting them to join him. I know not whether or no I may give you credit for a knowledge of the forms of Kaffir diplomacy, but I will give you the "news" as received by Umhala, and which the messengers said had been sent to Tola, Botman, Eno, Pato, Tzatzoe's people, the Imingalasa (another branch of the Gaika tribe), Umkyc, Rili (Hintza's son), and the Chief of the Tambookies. "We announce to you that the Chief's place (Umzi) is destroyed (wonakele). The English having demanded the restoration of stolen property, we have been collecting it, and restoring it; but they affect to despise what we have done; they demand still more from us, and refuse to take us out of the bush (*i.e.*, tell us they are dissatisfied), so that it is in vain to think of contenting them. What shall we do?"

Early in December, in this year, it was deemed expedient by the Colonial Government to march a force of about 800 British troops to the N.E. boundary of the Colony, for the purpose of quelling a disturbance which had taken place between the Emigrant Farmers and the Griquas, and other inhabitants across that Border; and no sooner had the Frontier garrisons been thinned by the departure of these troops than the Kaffirs again essayed to make an extensive inroad upon the Colony. A rumour had been circulated among the Kaffirs that the British force had sustained a defeat, and this was so firmly, for a time, believed, that the warriors of one tribe were moving forward, and had actually reached the boundary, when stopped by ENO's Kaffirs with the information that "the news" was untrue, and that the project would be premature. About the same time a fine young Albany farmer, named HARDEN, was savagely murdered by the Kaffirs near the mouth of the Fish River, while depredations on the Border inhabitants were continued with all their wonted activity. In reviewing the occurrences of 1842, the local press again records the following admonition :

Unsophisticated nature may sound very sentimental in theory, but practically it is a sickly absurdity. Divine revelation and every day's experience are both directly opposed to it. These assure us that "the heart of man," his inmost nature, "is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." The question, then, should be: How is this to be counteracted in the case in question? Is it by throwing up the reins to him, as we have done with regard to the Kaffirs? Or is it not rather by placing him under wholesome *restraint*, by subjecting him to suitable discipline, and by teaching him that while we, as a people, are determined to do justice, we are no less resolved that any infringement of that principle on his part shall meet with certain, speedy, and adequate punishment. There is nothing chimerical, or even difficult in this. To Great Britain the task would be comparatively an easy one, and, in the long run, by far the *cheapest* policy that could be adopted. Let it be recollected that the last Kaffir irruption cost the nation *half-a-million* sterling, and that the next inroad will, from the increased power of that people to do mischief, be still *more bloody and expensive*. Nor is this crisis so distant, perhaps, as many may be led to suppose. The false benevolence to which we have referred, too often incited by self-interested partizans, is hurrying it on. Evils of the most serious magnitude are kept out of sight; they are allowed to accumulate, unchecked, until at length they burst the feeble barrier in which they are thus pent, and pour out a flood of mischief upon all around. The practical lessons we would deduce from all this are, that the Government are called upon to discard chimerical notions;

to view the whole subject in the broad light of truth; to apply to it the maxims of common sense; and to adopt at once those measures which shall ensure to all, whether white or black, the maintenance of peace and the administration of prompt and impartial justice.

Happy would it have been for the Kaffirs, for the Colonists, and for the Home Government, had these suggestions had their due weight; but, unfortunately, they were passed by as idle tales, and the results, as we now find, are war, anarchy, destruction, and death.

CHAPTER X.

INCREASED DARING OF THE NATIVES—DEMAND FOR THE
MURDERERS OF W. HARDEN.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Dec. 26, 1846.

It will have been seen from the preceding sketch that the year 1843 opened on the Frontier with the Kaffir tribes in a state of open daring, and all but avowed hostility, to the British Power. Within the previous few months two designs had been evinced to invade the Colony, and which had been frustrated, not from the adoption of measures on the part of the Colonial authorities, but from the result of what will be termed mere accident. The state of the whole of the Frontier districts presented a striking example of what may strictly be termed *bellum in pace*—a state of affairs alike ruinous to the Colony, and discreditable to the British name and Government. A public writer, commenting at the period in question upon this state of the Frontier, remarks :

Looking at the anarchy which prevails along the Border, in connection with the state of Graham's Town, we hardly know whether we are not to consider the Colony as engaged in actual warfare with the Native tribes, and whether they have not already commenced their work of spoliation on the persons and property of the white inhabitants.

Another hand, writing from Bathurst in Lower Albany, gives the authorities the following faithful warning :

In fact, no one considers himself or property safe an hour, and if this state of things continue much longer, no man will stir without arms ; and however repugnant it may be to use them, and take life, yet he must do so in self-defence ; and as there are so many Kaffirs in this part, with and without permission, in all probability the innocent will suffer for the guilty. Their blood be upon the head of whomsoever has been the cause of this state of things ! I would not bear the burthen for the riches of the Universe.

This disgraceful state of anarchy at length forced itself upon the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, who, it will be remembered, had moved to the north-eastern boundary for the purpose of quelling disturbances which had taken place there between the Emigrant Boers and Griquas. His Honor accordingly hurried back to Fort Beaufort, where he called together several Gaika Chiefs, whom he upbraided with their turbulent conduct, and their hostile designs upon the Colony. From Beaufort he returned to Graham's Town, whence a peremptory order was despatched to the Congo Chief PATO to withdraw his people and cattle from the Colony—a considerable number of the latter having been permitted to be depastured, at the request of the Chief, on the Colonial side of the Border. The Lieutenant-Governor very properly stated that he could show no favour or countenance to this Chief, until he should discover and give up the murderers of W. HARDEN, who, there was every reason to believe, were persons living under his jurisdiction.

This indication of energy was, however, too evanescent, both in its character and duration, to lead to any satisfactory result. It did not, in fact, stay the commotion for one moment, nor lessen them in number or degree on any part of the Border. Everything, on the contrary, indicated that the Kaffirs were disposed to drive the Colonial authorities to extremities, and to test their power of endurance to the very utmost. Daring violence was added in numerous instances to robbery, and that so frequently as fairly to challenge the Colonial authorities to do their worst. Among other events of this period (April, 1843), it will only be necessary to select the following as cases in point :

Several Kaffirs were seen driving a number of cattle (supposed to have been stolen) towards the boundary; they were pursued by two or three persons, and overtaken on the farm occupied by Mr. R. BOVEY, a short distance above Fort Beaufort. The plunderers, who were armed with guns and assegais, on finding themselves pressed, stood at bay, and in the encounter which ensued a man of colour, a herdsman residing in the neighbourhood, was shot dead, the ball passing through his neck. He was stabbed also in the back with an assegai.

At the same period an atrocious outrage was committed by three Kaffirs on the person of a young man, 18 years of age, named CORNELIUS VAN ROOYEN, son of GERT VAN ROOYEN, of Hermanus Kraal. He was returning from the Tarka, whither he had been on business, and had off-saddled about eight o'clock in the evening, at a drift nearly opposite Fort Beaufort, when three armed Kaffirs sprang upon him. Two of them grasped him by the collar, while one proceeded to rifle his pockets and saddle. In the former he had about £3 in cash; affixed to the latter was a bundle containing sundry wearing apparel. While this was in progress, he understood sufficient of the Kaffir language to ascertain that the ruffians entertained a design to murder him. Determined to sell his life dearly, he immediately engaged in a desperate struggle, and that with so much success as to extricate himself from their grasp, but not before his upper garments were torn to tatters, and his hands much lacerated during the struggle. The marauders pursued him for a considerable distance, but, favoured by the darkness, he succeeded in eluding them, and, when quite exhausted, in concealing himself in a bush. The Kaffirs got off with his mare, his money, and his clothes.

That the Kaffirs, encouraged by the impunity with which these atrocious offences were committed, meditated a design to rush in force upon the Colony is very evident, from a variety of circumstances which transpired at this period. In estimating their resources, however, they found two Chiefs who were decidedly inimical to their designs, and hence measures were forthwith adopted to get rid of them. One of these was a Chief of the Slambie tribes, named GAZELLA, a warrior of acknowledged prowess, and on that account of some influence amongst the people about him. His position is thus described in the public records of the day :

GAZELLA resides in the very centre of Kaffirland, his kraals occupying a tract of open country at the base of the Amatoli Mountains, near the extreme point of the range which then turns towards the Tambookie country. These mountains are of a most impracticable character, rugged, encumbered with impervious thickets, and acclivities, and hence the spot occupied by GAZELLA just at the apex of the bend, is the key or high road to HINTZA'S country, and also into the interior of Tambookieland. It will appear very evident from this sketch that such a position, occupied by a Chief so friendly disposed towards the Colony as GAZELLA has proved himself to be, must be a continual source of annoyance to those tribes who consider the plunder of the Colonists as nothing more than a kind of primitive commerce, and who appear to think that the Colonists should supply them without grumbling with beef and mutton, and saddle-horses whenever they may please to require them. GAZELLA has long requested the support of the British Government, and it is important to remember that there is no point in Kaffirland where a force might be placed with so much advantage to the Colony, and so well calculated

secure the peace of Kaffirland, as the territory from whence an attempt is now making to drive the Chief in question.

It is creditable to the Lieut.-Governor to say, that by a timely journey to Fort Peddie, and prompt interference, he saved this man *for the time* from becoming a victim to the machinations of the refractory Chiefs. By threatening to march a British force into the territory of the contumacious parties, the desired effect was attained of preventing open violence, but not, as is supposed, covert *murder*. GAZELLA died a few months subsequently at Fort Peddie, as was said, of consumption, but still under circumstances which excited strong suspicion that the real cause of his death was poison.

At the close of the first quarter of this year the Government, in their *published Official Returns* for that period, make the following humiliating confessions :

RECLAIMABLE BY TREATIES.—Seventy-one cases of losses reported during this quarter, amounting in the aggregate to 10 horses, 458 head of cattle, and 120 sheep and goats ; out of which number have been recovered, 4 horses, 182 head of cattle, and 3 sheep, were disallowed at the quarterly meeting, there not being sufficient proof of the Kaffirs, Tambookies, or Fingoes having stolen them, or being implicated in the theft.

It was reported that one Kaffir had been shot dead, and another had had his arm shot off, while carrying off property stolen from the Colony.

In this quarter a young man named W. HARDEN, residing near Cuylerville, was found murdered, his body having been discovered pierced with assagai wounds.

NOT RECLAIMABLE BY TREATIES.—Fifty-two cases of losses reported during this quarter, amounting in the aggregate to 56 horses, 71 head of cattle, and 5 sheep and goats ; out of which number have been recovered 7 horses and 14 head of cattle, were disallowed at the quarterly meeting, there not being sufficient proof of the Kaffirs, Tambookies, or Fingoes having stolen them, or being implicated in the theft.

On the 5th January, Mr. ACKERMAN reported that a party of Kaffirs attacked his herd in the field, fired on him, and wounded him. The following morning the herd died of the wounds received. The murderers went off without doing further mischief.

On the 19th January, one Kaffir was shot dead at Mr. AYTON's kraal, while in the act of stealing a sheep from it.

On the 15th January, two Kaffirs attacked the herd of S. DE LANGE in the field, beat him, and killed two sheep.

Besides, however, what is referred to in the Official Returns, it was known that a large number of horses had been swept off from the Tarka district, forming the upper part of the Kaffir boundary; and the local press, in remarking upon the alarming aspect of affairs, thus again warns the authorities:

The long nights afford time to the Kaffirs to conduct their operations so as to get their booty across the Border before daylight affords any opportunity to the plundered farmer, even if he discover his loss, to follow on the trail of the marauders. In two instances this week the parties robbed have narrowly escaped being shot by the thieves while endeavouring to recapture their stolen property. That they escaped death is matter of great thankfulness, but is not to be carried to the credit of the system under which their lives have been perilled and their property swept off. The Kaffirs at present are only learning the use of fire-arms, but they are apt scholars, and it may be depended on that, if the present system be upheld for a few years more, the life of a British officer or a Border farmer will not be worth a year's purchase. The Kaffirs are, as yet, but indifferent shots, but they possess all the requisites of first-rate marksman, viz., a keen eye, steady nerve, and active limbs; the country, also, in which we have placed them, affords opportunities for practice which cannot be surpassed in South Africa. In short, everything has conspired to raise this people from insignificant to formidable enemies; and if we continue as we have begun, instead of a force of 4,000 men, which it is said is to be stationed on this Frontier, we shall require thrice that amount, not merely to protect the Border inhabitants, but to preserve the Colony from actual invasion.

That the endurance of the Frontier inhabitants was at this period most severely tested will be seen from the following statements, which we find among the public records of the period, and which challenge contradiction:

Last Sunday, at the administration of the Sacrament in the Dutch Church, Baviaans' River, three messengers arrived, calling upon different persons of the congregation to return home immediately, as the Kaffirs had taken off their cattle during their absence.

The writer adds:

"Being just on the eve (Monday last) of starting across the Winterberg, the person who had been sent for my horses returned stating that he had met some persons following *spoor*. This, unfortunately, is, at the present time, the principal employment of the Frontier farmer, viz., to follow on the trail of his property stolen by Kaffirs, and to be exposed, at the same time, to the shot of the robber. What a dreadful state of things! Within the last few weeks four herds of cattle have been driven off from the Colony on the south of the Winterberg. From the north of same, horses and cattle have been taken to the value of nearly £400. From the Stormberg, as stated in a

former number of the *Journal*, horses to the amount of above £200, and, to be added to this, a Fingoe shot dead while in pursuit of the marauders.

Mr. W. D. PRINGLE (brother of the late well-known Mr. T. PRINGLE, the poet, and Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society) thus writes upon the subject :

On the night of the 7th instant the Kaffirs entered my cow kraal, and took therefrom 25 cows and one ox. After driving them a short distance along the bed of the Baviaans' River, to avoid detection, they divided them into two lots. I went in pursuit of them with two of my friends. The party being too small to separate, we followed the *spoor* of one lot along the ridge of the mountain between Dorn Kloof and the Kowie, where they entered a kloof called Donker Hoek, where I suppose they intended staying for the remainder of the day, as they had killed a cow and kindled a fire. I was a little in advance of my friends. On entering the bush, one Kaffir placed himself in ambush with his gun, allowed me to come within fifteen yards, and then fired. He fortunately missed me, but fortune was not so kind to him, for if he is not dead by this time, he suffers much from the buckshot he received. They allowed us to take the cattle without further resistance. I then gave notice to the officer commanding the Koonap Post, who very promptly despatched men to the several drifts above the Post, while I, with a few friends, watched at the drifts below, but nothing passed during the night. I returned home on the 8th, and am sorry to say that the other party has got clear off with their booty, 11 in number. These cows having all young calves, it is likely I shall lose them also, which will make the number 22. The Kaffirs had also four horses in their possession, which I suppose they had stolen from some of the neighbouring farmers.

Notwithstanding these strong representations, nothing effectual was done to secure the property of the inhabitants, and robberies continued with, if possible, increased activity. A respectable individual, while travelling along the upper part of the Frontier, thus writes upon the subject at the date in question :

Yesterday, while crossing the Winterberg by the bridle path, I came upon a party following the spoor of some 50 or 60 head of cattle—in fact, the whole herd of cattle, including young cattle, which had been carried off by the Kaffirs. The first of the party whom I came upon was the son of the farmer who had been plundered, accompanied by two young men, his neighbours. They appeared greatly dejected, and were evidently suffering from fatigue, cold and hunger. They had followed the spoor to the top of the kloofs of the mountains, which look down upon the Tarka Post, and left it when it entered Tambookieland.

Having descended the mountains, and reached the banks of the Kci River, I found the other persons connected with the party preparing to spend the night on the banks of the river. To me they appeared wholly unfit for

the business in which they were engaged. As regards their weapons, I feel confident that had the Kaffirs offered any resistance they must have suffered ; and, independently of the Kaffirs, the cold was enough to kill them. They had evidently started from home in great haste, and hence I found them very thinly clad.

When will this desolating system of plunder cease, or are the Frontier farmers given a prey to the Kaffirs ?

The patience of the plundered farmers seems at length to have become exhausted, and hence a determination was evinced by them no longer to submit to a state of things which entailed upon them continual robbery, as well as exposed both them and their families to continual danger. No wonder, therefore, that among the public records of the day should be found the following :

A considerable number (estimated at 80) of the Border inhabitants, chiefly British Settlers, arrived *yesterday*, May 31, at Fort Beaufort, and a deputation from them waited on Lieutenant-Colonel JOHNSTONE, the officer commanding there, with a remonstrance against the existing system, and a declaration that the continual aggressions made upon them by the Kaffirs could no longer be endured. The parties appear to have conducted themselves with the utmost decorum, and to have been treated with that consideration by Colonel JOHNSTONE, which is as creditable to his understanding as it is convincing that the grievances complained of are too well founded to admit either of excuse or denial.

At sunset the streets were well thronged with farmers from the Fish River, Kowie, Mancazana, Koonap, Bavians' River, Kaga, Riet River, Winterberg, &c., who met in groups to discuss their affairs. It was generally expressed that so enormous were their losses and so frequent were the aggressions of the Kaffirs, that unless Government afforded them protection, and gave them some positive assurance of future safety, and recompense for their past losses, they would be compelled in self defence to enter Kaffirland, and redress their own wrongs—seeing that Government appeared to be unable to give that protection to British subjects to which their birthright entitles them.

Surely, after such unequivocal evidence, no one will be found to advocate the cause of those robbers, who literally have been licensed by the last treaties to spoil the Colonists, and have rendered a land which, under a better system of government, might have been peaceable, happy, and prosperous—a land where for the reaping hook and shepherd's crook the murderous firelock and rifle must now be substituted.

This spirited demonstration on the part of the immediate sufferers had the effect of arousing the Lieutenant-Governor to the necessity of immediate action. His Honour accordingly proceeded to Fort Beaufort, and a military force, 600 strong,

being assembled under the command of Colonel SOMERSET, were marched into the Ceded Territory for the purpose of scouring the bushy country along the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers. Information had been given to the authorities that the most active agent in plundering the Colony was a Chief named TOLA, occupying a beautiful tract of country on the Kat River, a few miles below Fort Beaufort. The 7th Dragoon Guards had been marched to this point in the first instance; but on their approach the Chief and his people, with their cattle, had retired into the broken country just mentioned. Two or three of the Kaffir tribes affected to approve of this movement on the part of the Colonial authorities, and even proceeded so far as to call out their warriors, under the plea of assisting the British troops to punish the refractory Chiefs—the real design being, as shown in the sequel, to watch their proceedings and act according to circumstances. At the same time a “Circular” was sent by the Civil Commissioner of the district to the respective field-cornets, warning the inhabitants to hold themselves prepared to act on the defensive; not forgetting to remind the parties that in the event of refusal to obey the orders of the field-cornet, the offender would be liable to a fine of £20, or *imprisonment for three months*.

CHAPTER XI.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Jan. 2, 1847.

THE KAFFIR CHIEF KAMA AND PEOPLE OBLIGED TO REMOVE.

OUR last sketch was to the middle of 1843, and afforded a just view of the feeble endeavours made by the local authorities to arrest that growing turbulence of the Kaffirs, which every person of discernment and impartiality felt convinced would, if not effectually checked, result in the most wide-spread and disastrous consequences.

While these affairs were in progress near the centre of the Frontier line, lower down on the coast the proceedings of the Kaffirs were equally calculated to awaken the authorities to the danger impending over the Colony, and to convince them of the necessity of prompt and decisive measures. The *Christian* Kaffir Chief KAMA, with a perfect appreciation of the character and designs of his countrymen, feeling that he would not be able to maintain himself against either the covert or open attacks of his countrymen, resolved upon the painful alternative of self-expatriation, and he accordingly removed from a fine tract of country on the coast, bordered on the west by the Fish River, to a location near the sources of the Kei. The departure of this Chief from the land of his birth is thus recorded at the date in question :

The party consists of about 200 families, having large droves of cattle, with which it is intended, until the turn of the winter, to remain in the territory of MACOMO, whose sister is the wife of the Chief KAMA, and who has given him permission to occupy for the time a part of his country. The ultimate destination of this migratory party is the territory of the Basuto Chief, MOSHESH, who has consented to grant them sufficient lands for their future residence. The cause of this movement is said to be a conviction of the insecurity of the position which has been abandoned. KAMA is sufficiently enlightened to see his danger, and has sufficient decision to provide

against it. His territory has been given over to the British Representative at Fort Peddie, to hold in trust for him, and we believe with full authority for the Colonial Government to occupy it in any way which may appear most conducive to the maintenance of peace, and the civilization of his restless and barbarous countrymen. The removal of KAMA from this neighbourhood is very much to be regretted, inasmuch as his people were amongst the best conducted of the Kaffir tribes, while KAMA's fidelity to the British Government has never, with any show of reason, been called in question.

It was soon discovered that the Kaffir Chiefs, who had shown a readiness to aid the British troops in their operations against TOLA, had been cajoling the authorities. Thus the public records of the day state, referring to the principal Chief of the Gaika tribes, SANDILLI, that,

When applied to in the first instance to put down and punish TOLA for his continual aggressions he pleaded his inability—his want of power to check his forays upon the Colony. He requested that a British force might to this end be employed, and with which he would co-operate. At his request, therefore, and with this understanding, a military movement was directed; but in the meantime, as it now appears, the delinquent tribes were not only apprised of the intention of the Colonial Government, but were aided and assisted in falling back, and in getting the stolen cattle and horses deep into Kaffirland, and beyond the reach of the British forces. All this duplicity was evidently the result of a conviction that our Government was not in earnest, and that the menaces put forth would, as aforetime, evaporate in smoke. The march of so large a force as 600 men across the Border was an event neither expected nor provided for, and hence every effort of Kaffir cunning has been made to divert the British commander from the object before him. Fortunately he is too well acquainted with the Kaffir character to put the smallest dependence upon their mere professions, or to be made the dupe of their practised artifices. The Chief, finding himself so entirely foiled, has displayed a good deal of irritation; he has been insolent to the Resident Agent, SHEPSTONE, and questioned the right of the military to make the movements they have done. 500 head of cattle have been recovered, and these will be sent to Fort Brown, there to be apportioned to the plundered farmers. The number of cattle thus captured is said to be very far short of the amount of actual loss; but as little hope is entertained of advantage in moving the troops at this season of the year deeper into Kaffirland, it is now understood that the several detachments will return to the Colony.

It must not be inferred that the Kaffirs were disposed to sustain an actual *loss* of the 500 cattle above-mentioned. On the contrary, the records of the day show that depredations *within* the Colony were conducted with a boldness and success that could not fail to place them quickly in better circumstances than

before. Another victim was also at this period added to the black catalogue of murders, and which is thus recorded :

The victim in this instance is a Tambookie, in the service of Mr. S. ROBINSON, residing at the Kluklu. He had been sent out in charge of a flock of sheep, and it is supposed was sitting at the moment of attack on his blanket or kaross. From the marks on the body it would appear the murderers must have suddenly sprung upon him, grasped him firmly by the throat, in which finger-nail marks are deeply indented, and then despatched him with their assegais. The body, when found, exhibited the throat much swollen, a deep wound in the face, and another in the chest, which it is supposed must have reached the heart.

From all parts of the Frontier complaints were heard of robbery and violence, and that not merely along the immediate boundary, but within the Colony to a distance of fifty miles from it. Thus, an inhabitant from near the village of Somerset, writing upon the subject, remarks :

Several of the Dutch farmers declare their intention to trek about September, as it is impossible for them to live here to be thus robbed and harrassed. What few cattle they have got are daily getting poorer for want of grass, and being kraaled at night makes them worse, and even thus while in the kraal they are not secure. What a wretched state of existence this is, and yet it is called a time of peace ; what a farce, and yet to be called British rule !

Another of the actual sufferers also writes :

Why will not Government take measures suited to the case ? and why are we thus kept in constant dread, not only of losing our cattle, but having our herdsmen murdered while out in charge of them ? Have not sufficient murders taken place, and cattle and horses been stolen ? Or is it that a sufficient number of families have not already been forced to forsake their homes and migrate into the Interior ? We really know not where to look. What the Kaffirs leave are made free with in other quarters ; witness the sale by Government of our cattle before our eyes. This we were induced to submit to on the promise of compensation, which, however, has never been fulfilled. What have the people done that they should be thus treated ?

Nor was this Chief satisfied simply with reprisal upon the Colony ; he boldly attacked one of his brother Chiefs, who had afforded some countenance to the British troops in their operations against him, and who seems to have done so purely to obtain booty. The particulars of this little interlude are thus furnished :

TOLA, naturally incensed that he should have been made the scape-goat of the other Chiefs, has taken care to inform the Lieutenant-Governor that not more than about a tenth part of the cattle taken from him have found

their way to the Colony, and that the rest have been self-appropriated by the other Chiefs, our native allies. Accordingly, a few days ago, he made a sudden attack upon SEYOLA, and succeeded in sweeping away the cattle of five kraals (estimated at from 600 to 700 head). The first indication of the attack was a shot at a Kaffir as he sat enjoying a repast from one of TOLO's cattle, which had just been slaughtered. The shot was so well meant as to carry away the nose of the astonished native, and who, of course, did not wait to finish the feast. TOLA, it seems, with great gallantry, called out to the Kaffirs he attacked that if they gave the cattle to the English he would not interfere with them, but that while *they* retained a single beast they should enjoy no quiet. Of course we understand by this that he is rather desirous they should be in the Colony, as he will then know where to look for them.

On the 24th July two fine young men, named B. PALMER and W. BROWN, British Settlers at Bathurst, were both murdered by the Kaffirs, under circumstances thus briefly recorded :

On Sunday the unfortunate men rode out to look after their cattle, and not returning, a small party of the inhabitants of the village went off in search of them, but did not succeed in finding them till Tuesday. An eye-witness states : "After endeavouring to trace them for some time, we came upon their trail about eight o'clock, but in consequence of their horses having been led backwards and forwards through the thick bush, we did not find them until about two o'clock. They were lying together in a thicket in Kaffirhoek, barbarously murdered! Both were shot and assegai'd, and otherwise mutilated. BROWN was quite naked."

On the receipt of this intelligence by the authorities at Graham's Town, the District-Surgeon was directed to proceed to the spot for the purpose of taking a *post-mortem* examination of the bodies. BROWN appears to have been dispatched instantly, a ball having entered the head, and frightfully shattered the jaw. The gun must have been fired close to him, as his hair around the orifice of the wound was blackened with the powder. He had been stripped naked, his body had been stabbed with assegais in numerous places, and his throat cut from ear to ear to the vertebrae.

PALMER appears to have made a desperate resistance. His corpse, like that of his unfortunate companion, was covered with assegai wounds, one having entered exactly at the arm, and passed through his body. His head and face were fearfully mutilated. He had been dragged by the heels, evidently, from the effusion of blood, while alive, until the nose and eyes and other prominent parts of the face were torn completely away. The clothes which BROWN had worn, and a jacket of PALMER's, had been carried off. Their horses were also missing, and have been traced by their spoor through the bushy ravines as far as the Cap River, near the Kaffir boundary, where, after crossing the stream, they had returned towards the Colony.

The local paper, in alluding to this atrocious deed, thus indignantly remarks :

Let it be fully known that until the general irruption of the Kaffirs at the close of the year 1834, the inhabitants of Lower Albany lived in comparative

security and contentment, that Kaffir depredations were almost unknown, but that ever since those people were placed in the Fish River Bush, and thus brought to their very thresholds, and ever since the present treaties have been in operation, security and peace have entirely fled the land; murders and robberies have been frequent; the country has been infested in every part by wandering savages; and a state of things has arisen which is as disreputable to the Government as injurious to the repose and vital interests of the people at large.

This atrocious deed was speedily followed by a public meeting of the inhabitants of Albany, which was held at *Bathurst*, the object being to consider the disturbed state of the Frontier, and the necessary steps to be taken consequent thereon. The result was a petition to the QUEEN in Council, which it would be well for the British Government attentively to consider, affording, as it does, incontestible evidence of the grievous wrongs endured by the Colonists, and of the many faithful and *loyal* appeals which had been made to the Imperial Government.

The following resolution contains the gist of the proceedings of this meeting:

Resolved,—That this meeting views with the most serious apprehension and alarm the present state of this Frontier, owing to the continual acts of plunder by the Kaffirs, and the murders which frequently mark the inroads of those people; that these acts of aggression and violence have been on the increase in this Division ever since the year 1836; that the peaceful occupation of the farmer can no longer be followed in safety; that neither life nor property is secure; and that this meeting is of opinion that these grievances arise mainly from the operation of the treaties now existing between the Colonial Government and the Kaffir Chiefs, and which are not only inadequate to protect the Frontier farmer against Kaffir depredation and violence, but which act as an incentive to, and a premium on, such aggression. That this meeting is further of opinion that peace will only be restored, and security attained, by returning to the principles of the system formerly adopted by Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN; that it is its firm belief that, were these adopted and efficiently carried out, they would afford ample security to life and property, and be hailed as a general blessing throughout the Colony, and more especially in the Frontier districts.

It is worthy of note that the very paper which contains a report of these proceedings also records another savage murder at the upper part of the district, near Fort Beaufort, under the following circumstances:

We are all in a frightful state of alarm. A brutal and cruel murder has been perpetrated on an inoffensive man in our neighbourhood; lame, and little

fitted to defend himself against Kaffirs. The name of this poor man is GLEN. He was a shoemaker by trade, and was seeking work when he happened to cross the track of a party of Kaffir robbers with four stolen horses. These, to prevent him giving information of their movements, savagely butchered him. He was found pierced and mangled with assegais, two of which had passed through the heart. None of the farmers now feel it safe to travel singly, while the horror caused by these scenes of blood, and the dread of future catastrophes of a like nature, are general. The farmers dread leaving their homes, and travellers now wait till they can journey in parties. In short, we are paralyzed. Robberies now give place to murder, and as greater evils drive out the lesser, so we cease to talk of depredations, and think only of the deeds of blood which have been perpetrated, and conjecture those which may next happen.

The frequency of these deeds of blood aroused, as might be expected, a feeling of indignation, which vibrated along the whole line of Frontier, and immediate steps were taken to give expression to the public opinion. Accordingly the Municipal body at Graham's Town was the first in this good work, and in a Memorial to the QUEEN in Council, it states :

That your Majesty's petitioners cannot contemplate these atrocious deeds without feelings of the greatest grief, anxiety, and dismay, and which are calculated to make the inhabitants of this Frontier deeply sensible of the insecure tenure on which they hold both property and life. That the chier occupations of the Border inhabitants being those of the agriculturist or sheep or cattle farmer, necessarily expose them and their families to constant and imminent danger ; surrounded, as they are, by hordes of wandering savages without any visible means of existence, who are armed with deadly weapons, skilled, from infancy, in the exercise of them, and whose object is to plunder your Majesty's peaceful subjects of the fruits of their industry.

And petitioners now humbly implore your most gracious Majesty to command the correction of these grievances—the removal of which would restore peace and security to their dwellings, and enable them to pursue their various avocations with cheerfulness and alacrity. They humbly pray that the existing Frontier system may be superseded ; and that the principles of the treaties entered into between your Majesty's late Governor of this Colony, Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, and the Kaffir Chiefs in September, 1835, may be re-adopted.

The inhabitants of *Port Elizabeth* were the next who came forward to address Her Majesty, and who remark in their Petition :

That your petitioners are convinced that a longer perseverance in the present policy will end in disappointment to the Philanthropic supporters of their favourite system, and must eventually result in the extermination of the very tribes whose existence it is the ardent wish of your petitioners, in common

with your Majesty's other subjects, to preserve, as their unprovoked aggressions are so incessant and of such a harassing and sanguinary nature, as must inevitably provoke a retaliatory and destructive warfare.

This was immediately followed by a meeting of the inhabitants of Graham's Town, who also adopted a Petition, embodying similar sentiments to the Imperial Government. The following resolution is among those passed on this occasion :

That by the Treaty of 1835, Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, then Governor of the Colony, wisely and humanely conferred reciprocal advantages on Colonists and Kaffirs, during the continuance of which aggressions gradually ceased ; the tyranny of the Chiefs was checked, and the control exercised on savage customs was producing, by its moral influence, a favourable change in the Kaffirs themselves. That the sudden subversion of that treaty by Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM was impolitic and unwished for by either party ; that the substitution of his own treaties has produced great sacrifice of life and property (a considerable number—not fewer than eighty individuals having been murdered by Kaffirs since they have been in operation) ; that they have been the cause of the expatriation of thousands ; and that, although they have been ratified by Her Majesty, through representations made to Her Majesty's then Secretary of State for the Colonies, yet that such ratification has been in direct opposition to the opinion of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, the late Governor of the Colony, to that of the Frontier inhabitants, and of the Colonists in general.

The records of these proceedings give a very lucid view of the Kaffir question, and might be perused by the Home Government at the present day with no little advantage. Our space will only permit of the following extract from the remarks made by one of the speakers :

He had had painful proof of the savage brutality of the Kaffir character ; *he* had “felt the edge of the assegai ;” and on yonder hill (the speaker pointed towards the burial ground) were the remains of a father and a brother, both of whom fell beneath the murderous assegai ! [Great sensation was produced by the statement of this fact, the speaker struggling with deep emotion, while marks of sympathy were exhibited by the whole meeting.] At the time of this calamity they were peaceably engaged in their usual occupations, when a party of Kaffirs suddenly came upon them and barbarously murdered them. He was with them at the time, but was mercifully preserved, having effected his escape, but not till after receiving a severe wound through the thigh by an assegai. Several other savage murders were committed subsequently in the same neighbourhood by the Kaffirs. He well remembered the murder of Mr. SMITH's servant, and also Mr. STUBBS ; Mr. R. ANDERSON also disappeared while journeying to town in the same vicinity, and is supposed to have been waylaid and butchered. Messrs. MAHONEY, HENDERSON,

BROWN, and WHITTAKER fell at a later period beneath the assegai of the Kaffir near the same spot. Notwithstanding what he had suffered, he indulged no enmity of feeling against them, but still he well knew they were not to be trusted.

At the very time of these commotions, a most revolting and inhuman outrage was committed by the Kaffirs within a few miles of the Colonial Border. It seems that a son of the Chief MACOMO being sick, an imposter, called a "witch-doctor," was consulted, and which is usually the prelude to some horrible act of cruelty. Accordingly, a man of property and reputation was singled out, and charged with having bewitched the lad; measures were immediately taken to secure the unfortunate accused, and the result is given in the following appalling narrative:

MACOMO'S son KONA being sick, the usual course was pursued in such cases, and a witch-doctor was consulted to ascertain the individual from whose evil influence he was suffering, and, as is also usual under such circumstances, a man of property, and by reputation a courageous man, of MACOMO'S tribe, was selected and condemned to forfeit his life for his alleged crime, unheard, and without the slightest opportunity being afforded him of asserting, still less proving, his innocence. It was sufficient that the doctor *said* he was guilty—he must die! Accordingly, to prevent his being made acquainted by his friends of his awful situation, a party of men left MACOMO'S kraal early in the morning to secure the recovery of the sick young Chief by murdering one of his father's subjects. The day selected for the immolation appears to have been a sort of gala day with the unconscious victim; he was in his kraal, had just accomplished the slaughter of one of his cattle, and was merrily contemplating the convivial duties of the day before him, over which he thought himself about to preside; the arrival, therefore, of a party of men from the "great place" gave him no other concern than what part of the slaughtered animal he should give them. He looked upon them as his guests! but alas! he was too soon undeceived! The party seized him in his kraal, whither he had gone, of course, unarmed. When he found he was secured, and felt the reim round his neck, he calmly said, "It is my misfortune to be caught unarmed, or it should not be so." He was then ordered to produce the matter with which he had bewitched the Chief's son." He replied, "I have no bewitching matter, therefore destroy me, but do it quickly if my Chief has already consented to my death." His executioners expressed their determination to torture him until he produced it. He replied, "Save yourselves the trouble, for torture me as you will, I cannot produce what I do not possess." He was then held to the ground, and several men now pierced his body all over with Kaffir needles, two or three inches deep; the victim bore this with extraordinary resolution; his tormenters tired, complaining of the pain it gave their hands, and of the needles or skewers bending. By this time a large fire was kindled, into which large square stones were placed to heat;

the sufferer was then ordered to stand up ; he complied ; they pointed out to him the fire, telling him it was for his further torture, unless he produced his bewitching matter. He replied, "I told you the truth when I said 'save yourselves such trouble ;' as regards the hot stones, I can bear them, for I am innocent ; I would beseech you to strangle me at once, but that you will say I shrink at what you are about to do ; if, however, your object is merely that of extorting confession from me, save yourselves the trouble and kill me outright, for your hot stones do not scare me." Here his wife, who had also been seized, was stripped perfectly naked, and most cruelly beaten and otherwise ill-treated. The victim was then led to the fire, where he was laid on his back, with his feet and arms tied to pegs driven into the ground for the purpose ; the stones being by this time as hot as they could be made, were taken out of the fire and placed upon his groin, stomach, and chest ; these were supported by others on each side of him, also heated, and pressed against his body. It is impossible to describe the awful effect of this process. I must leave the scorching and broiling of the body, the fumes of smoke and occasional flashes of flame arising therefrom, to the imagination of your readers ; the very stones, as if refusing to be made further instruments of such cruelty, slip off the body in consequence of the unctious matter they have drawn from it, and are kept on by being pressed down with sticks by the fiendish executioners. With all this, the sufferer still remained sensible. He was asked whether he wished to be released to discover his hidden charm ; he replied, "Release me." They did so, fully expecting they had vanquished his resolution. To the amazement of all he stood up—but what a sight ! a human being broiled alive ! his flesh hanging in large pieces from his body like the seared hide of an ox ! He composedly asked his tormenters, "What do you wish me to do now ?" They repeated their original demand ; he resolutely adhered to his declarations of innocence, and begged of them, now that they appeared tired of their labour, to shorten it and put him out of his misery ; the noose of the reim round his neck, which had been hitherto secured from slipping by a knot, was released, and while the heroic sufferer was still standing, it was violently jerked by several men until he fell, when he was dragged about the ground until they were satiated, and finally placing their feet on the back of his neck, they drew the noose so tight as to complete the strangulation ; then, as if not yet satisfied so brave a man had ceased to be, he was taken into his own house, tied to one of the supporting poles of it, the house set on fire, and the body burnt to ashes ! Thus died a man whose extraordinary fortitude and endurance deserved a better fate. His sufferings commenced about 10 a.m., and terminated with his existence a little before sunset ! !

Shortly after the perpetration of these soul-sickening atrocities, committed almost within sight of the Colonial boundary, the Lieutenant-Governor proceeded to Block Drift, and permitted himself to be a party to proceedings, which are thus given in the records of the period :

Kaffirland, 3rd October.

The Lieutenant-Governor met the Chiefs yesterday at Block Drift. He moved with a detachment of 70 of the Dragoon Guards, who in their full

marching dress made, as you may suppose, a very formidable appearance. His Honour upbraided SANDILLI for having connived at TOLA's return to his old quarters—a charge which he evaded, but did not deny. He then declared it to be his intention again to expel him *vi et armis*, and to drive the whole of them, should they prove refractory, over the Kei River, remarking, very shrewdly, that they professed to have skill enough in tracing out persons accused of witchcraft, but none in detecting robbers and murderers. After a good deal of palaver, the matter was settled by a sort of compromise, namely, TOLA to be permitted to remain on giving security for his future good behaviour, his two sureties being BOTMA and SANDILLI. MACOMO was asked to join them, but he declined, and got off with subscribing his name as a *witness* to the engagement of his fellow Chiefs.

No wonder will be excited, after perusing this absurd trifling, that robberies and violence by the Kaffirs should continue in all their frequency. Several murders were also perpetrated, and repeated affairs in which the Kaffirs, on being pursued by the plundered farmer, stood at bay and exchanged shot for shot. The irritation and sufferings the Frontier farmers were compelled to endure at this period may be faintly imagined from the following, which we extract out of *numbers* of statements of a similar character :

On Monday I met four farmers on the spoor of their 15 oxen, on the very highest part of the Winterberg mountain. The day was wet and cold, the clouds were resting on all parts of the mountain, while the ground was so boggy that almost at every step the horses sank fetlock and sometimes knee deep. It was really distressing to see the fathers of four families compelled to leave their homes and be exposed to the cold of this mountain region while following the trail of the property wrested from them by the ruthless natives. When conversing with these poor men, and while they were loud in their complaints in being thus subject to such continual plunder, I almost felt ashamed of being an Englishman, and could not but sympathise with them in the cruelty which allows the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain to be so incessantly harrassed.

The disgraceful state of affairs on this Frontier, as shewn by the official admissions of the Government, is thus remarked upon by the local *Journal* towards the close of the year, and with which we conclude our sketch of Frontier affairs for the year 1843 :

We give to-day the "Government Returns," showing the violation of the Colonial boundary, the murders perpetrated, the robberies committed, and the aggressions of various kinds made upon the Colonists by Kaffirs, during the two quarters ending 30th September last. We repeat, and it

seems absolutely necessary we should do so, in order to assure the reader of the fact—that these are the Returns made by the Government authorities—the official confessions of the working of the existing Frontier system. And what a scene of anarchy, bloodshed, and spoliation do they unfold! A more complete *exposé* of the iniquity and total worthlessness of our Border policy could not be given, nor a more disgraceful exhibition of the manner in which loyal British subjects in the distant extremities of the empire are weaned from their attachment to British interests, and oppressed under the plausible but most hollow plea of humanity and the colour of law. We hazard nothing when we say that there is no other civilized Government in existence which betrays such imbecility as is shown on the face of these Returns, or humiliating confessions, and where the subjects of that Government are obliged to submit to wrongs so continual as to time and so great as to amount.

If we look at these "Returns" a little closely, we have the admissions distinctly made, that during the quarter ending June last, the Colonial farmers were plundered of no less than 49 horses and 731 cattle; for the following quarter, ending September, they were robbed of 79 horses and 568 cattle, making the total amount of property stolen by the Kaffirs from the Border farmers, as avowed by Government, to be 128 horses, and 1,299 head of cattle!

Subtracting from this astounding amount of robbery all which the Government states have been recovered, and there is still a balance shown by these Returns of loss sustained by the Colonists of 50 horses and 703 cattle.

Let it be distinctly borne in mind that these are not *our* statements, not that of any "prejudiced Colonist," but the broad admissions, the official confessions of the Government, wrung from the Executive in spite of that strong and very natural desire which must be felt to show that a system, the working of which is entrusted to them, is carried out to the very utmost of their ability, and every possible means, so as to be most conducive to the preservation of life and property and the maintenance in general of the public interests. The results are not less deplorable as respects the actual sufferers, than humiliating to those on whom devolves the duty of averting the evils under which they labour.

The time then has arrived when, on behalf of the Border inhabitants, we accept the plea put forth by the originator of this system, Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM—and we claim a verdict from our fellow-subjects at home—in terms recorded by himself, and if so, and which follows as a consequence from his own premises, then the charge of aggression which has been made against the Colonists is alike untrue and calumnious, disreputable to the British name, and subversive of the best interests of the inhabitants of this Frontier.

CHAPTER XII.

RELATIVE CONDITION OF KAFFIR AND COLONIST.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Jan. 9, 1847.

THE year 1844 opened upon the Frontier Colonists amidst "a sea of troubles." Murder and robbery were of frequent occurrence within the Colonial Border, while beyond it, in close proximity, the restless Kaffirs were openly rioting in all the cruel, obscene, and dishonest customs peculiar to savage life. Humanity itself seemed to call upon the British Government to extend her powerful arm and put a stop to such horrible atrocities, committed with the knowledge, and almost within sight, of the Colonial authorities. Such a state of things could not but occasion the greatest uneasiness in the mind of every person of reflection, and the most urgent and frequent appeals were put forth to arouse the authorities to a proper sense of the fast accumulating dangers which were so evidently gathering around. Amongst other appeals placed upon public record at the period, we select the following, as showing the relative condition of both Colonists and Kaffirs :

"I have given the subject," says the writer, "long and anxious consideration, and the conclusion I am irresistibly led to, is that your present system is radically unsound ; that its direct tendency is to raise the Kaffirs from contemptible into formidable enemies ; to entail a large useless expenditure upon the Home Government, and to excite exasperation on both sides of the line of boundary. It is fraught with imminent danger to the lives and properties of all concerned. Could my voice but reach the ear of Her Majesty's confidential advisers, I would whisper emphatically, 'REFORM IT QUICKLY, AND REFORM IT ALTOGETHER.'

"The country I have recently passed through is perhaps one of the most interesting in South Africa. There is nothing in it monotonous—nothing tame or unpicturesque. The Buffalo Mountains are extremely beautiful. They are finely wooded, their spurs or shoulders giving a boldness and graceful outline of their features equal to anything of the kind I have ever seen in any part of the world. The valleys which skirt this mountain chain are extremely fertile, well watered, and numerouslly peopled. It is impossible to imagine a scene of greater beauty than to witness, in the calm glow of the

setting sun in this heavenly climate, the return home of the innumerable herds of cattle from the rich pastures in which they had browsed during the day. The shrill whistle of the Kaffir herdsman; the distant hum of the occupants of the teeming kraals or villages, all of whom are in commotion at this hour; the loud bleating of the kine echoed from the adjacent cliffs, and the deep shadows of the mountain glens, altogether form a picture which a Claude might faintly pourtray, but which I will not perpetrate the injustice of attempting to describe. Yet notwithstanding all this seeming tranquility, it is to the people who reside in this immediate neighbourhood to whom are attributed most of the aggressions committed upon the Colonial farmers, and which are such a fruitful source of annoyance to the Colonial Government. But why should this be so? This is a question I have asked myself a hundred times, but still, I must confess, without arriving at any satisfactory opinion on the subject. Still, one thing is clear to me, namely, that in all the dealings of the Colonial Government with the Kaffir people, their true character has never been properly estimated, nor their national usages more than partially understood. The people—I speak of their physical conformation—are perhaps equal to any in the world, and I am inclined to believe they are capable of as high civilization. * * * * With few exceptions, their customs are most baneful and demoralizing, and it is to these we may attribute all the evils which the Colonists experience from their immediate proximity to them. Theft from a stranger, to whom they have not pledged protection, is a custom, not a crime; lying and duplicity are habits which have grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength; superstition is inseparably blended with their polity; they are dead to natural feeling and humanity—actually revelling in acts of appalling cruelty, when roused by some native Pythoness, to wreak their vengeance on a victim accused by her of holding intercourse with some power of darkness. These people will never be safe neighbours until these practices are suppressed. They form a stupendous barrier at the first step of civilization, and little further progress will be made until it be removed. To accomplish this the Government of the Colony should direct its most serious attention. All the missionaries among them, as far as my observation goes, agree upon this subject, and you will say, ‘Well they may,’ when I state that to the same cause is distinctly attributable the little progress comparatively which Christianity, even in an incipient stage, has made among them. With a suitable system the neighbourhood of these people to the Colony would be one of its greatest advantages. They are a shrewd, active, clever people, and even their restlessness and daring enterprise, which make them such a constant and severe scourge to the Colony, would, under proper cultivation and control, render them as neighbours extremely valuable. Civilize—I might say humanize—them, and from robbers you convert them into your best customers, while from among them would be obtained in abundance exactly that sort of labour of which the Colonists at this moment stand so much in need. Such an object is well worthy the most anxious attention, both of an enlightened Government, and of everyone laying claim to the character of a lover of his species.”

Early in the month of February, a Petition on the subject from *Fort Beaufort*, was presented to the Legislative Council

by the Honourable J. B. EBDEN, and, after some demur, was permitted to be "laid on the table." This was followed up by the same honourable member moving, on the 4th March, for the following returns :

1. Return showing the number of separate acts of depredations committed in the Colony by the Native tribes during the years 1837-38-39-40-41-42, and 43, distinguishing the nature and extent of such depredations—*i.e.*, the number of horses, heads of cattle, or other description of property, reported to have been destroyed or abstracted from the Colony by the Kaffirs.

2. Return embracing a general abstract of losses, reported to have been sustained by the Colonists from the depredations of the Kaffirs during the above period, distinguishing their nature and extent, whether "reclaimable" or "not reclaimable," according to the treaties.

3. Return in detail of all acts of aggression on either side, whether committed by the Kaffirs or the Colonists.

4. Return showing the particulars of every instance of breach of the existing treaties, by whatever party committed.

5. Return showing the number of lives lost, either of Colonists or Kaffirs ; and of all assaults, with the particulars thereof ; and of murderers demanded and given up according to treaty.

6. Copies of the existing treaties with the Kaffir tribes.

This motion was met by the following amendment, proposed by the Honourable Secretary to Government, and which was carried by a majority of four :

I propose as an amendment, "That it is unnecessary to call upon the Government to furnish the Returns asked for, inasmuch as the information they would afford is substantially before the Council in the *Government Gazette*, with a copy of which each member is duly provided."

Those who have paid even the smallest attention to the preceding sketches of the affairs of this Frontier will be startled, and perhaps amused, at learning that the ostensible plea urged for refusing the Returns in question was that of trouble and expense. On this subject the local press thus remarks :

The Secretary to Government rests his opposition partly on the ground of expense, and partly on the labour that would be required—two good reasons why an unpaid member should escape both. He admitted "that the work of compiling the necessary information would be labourious ; and he could only say that he had not a clerk in his office who could be spared for it ;" and further, that "he did not wish to oppose the proposition to enquire into the subject, but as a clerk must be paid for the purpose, he thought the public should not be put to the expense of collecting information which was equally open to all of them."

Now, supposing, for the sake of argument, that an additional clerk were procured for the purpose of collating and arranging the necessary documents, in order to facilitate Mr. EBDEN's enquiry, and that the time occupied in the work were even *three* months, which is *two* months more than any common clerk at £100 a-year would require, who was accustomed to the ordinary business of a Government office, £25 would be the outside cost. Why, the widows and the orphans, and those who have none to help them, and who are rendered thus miserable by the operation of the treaties sought to be amended, would raise the required sum in a week by a penny subscription.

In the course of the debate on this subject, Governor NAPIER, referring to the Frontier inhabitants, remarked :

They have sent memorials again and again to the Queen in Council, which I have transmitted as fast as they came in, except one, which was informal, not having the report of the Lieutenant-Governor, and which was sent back for his report, and afterwards went home. There has never been a year that I have not had memorials on the subject from general meetings of the inhabitants, all which have been forwarded to the Secretary of State.

It is worthy of public record, that a task from which the Local Government thus shrank, and which, had it been impartially performed and suitable measures founded upon it, might have saved the Government at least a million sterling, was undertaken and ably completed by a private individual, Mr. J. C. CHASE, of Port Elizabeth, and who submitted his labours to the public in the local *Journal* of the 25th July, 1844; the public-spirited and indefatigable compiler giving the following as the general result of the elaborate investigation thus made by him :

General Result of the "Working" of the STOCKENSTROM Policy, obtained from the foregoing Schedules.

Horses stolen from 1837 to ult. 1843.....	2,469 head
Cattle " " "	11,234 "
Murders, according to Government Returns.....	16
Cases of strong suspicion	2
Recorded in local papers before publication of Government Returns, i.e., 1836-37	69
Recorded in local papers since publication of Government Returns, but not appearing therein.....	16
— Total..	103
Assaults on Persons :	
Persons wounded	33
Persons fired on.....	22
Other assaults.....	33
— Total..	88

Thieves punished by Chiefs.....	10
Kaffirs killed <i>in flagrante</i>	34
Trespasses committed on Colony, irrespective of cases of depredations....	20
Infraction of Treaties by the Government or Colonists.....	3

It is to be regretted that previous to the publication of these important Returns, Sir GEORGE NAPIER had taken his departure from the Colony, being succeeded by Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, whose high character, established by a long course of active public life, gave promise to the Colonists of, at least, some material amelioration in their circumstances. It will be seen, however, that Governor NAPIER'S administration had, in reference to the Kaffir question, been entirely unproductive of good to the Frontier inhabitants; that on his departure he bequeathed to his successor, in the government of this country, all the difficulties which had arisen from a radically faulty system—one that he had come out pledged to support, but which had involved him in continual embarrassments, and entailed upon the country evils of the most serious magnitude. Still, Sir GEORGE NAPIER was an honest man; he acted up to the convictions of his conscience—how false those convictions were, the occurrences of 1846 will abundantly testify!

Early in the month of July of this year *another* reply of the Colonial Minister, Lord STANLEY, to the Petitions of the Frontier inhabitants was received by the petitioners, the purport of which is contained in the following extracts:

I have received Sir GEORGE NAPIER'S Despatch of the 4th Dec., 1843, No. 228. I have laid before the Queen the three Petitions accompanying that Despatch. You will acquaint the petitioners that Her Majesty's Government are deeply impressed with the necessity of redressing, to the utmost of their power, the grievances of which the Municipal Commissioners of Graham's Town, the inhabitants of Lower Albany, and the inhabitants of Port Elizabeth complain. You will omit no safe and proper measures, which it may be in your power to adopt, for increasing the security of the persons and the property of the Queen's subjects in the Frontier Districts. I trust, however, that on a careful and dispassionate enquiry it will be found that the actual extent of the danger is less than might be inferred from the statements of some of the petitioners. In a statement attached to the printed copy of the Petition from Port Elizabeth, the number of murders perpetrated since the adoption of the treaties of 1836 is said to have exceeded 80, yet the Return which has been transmitted to me of the murders committed by the Border tribes within

the district of Albany, since the 1st Aug., 1838, represents the total number to have been 10, of which two were committed not by the Kaffirs, but by the Fingoes. Unless, therefore, it be supposed that as many as 70 murders were committed by the tribes within the two first years after the date of the treaties, the inference that the statement of the total number is much exaggerated would seem inevitable.

The main object of the petitioners, however, is that the system established by Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN in 1835 should be resumed; but assuming (and it is at least a questionable assumption) that the existing treaties leave Her Majesty entirely free to pursue in this respect whatever course the inhabitants of the Frontier Districts dictate, the losses of property sustained within the period during which Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN'S arrangements continued in force, were such as to forbid the conclusion that those arrangements were more favourable than the treaties which followed them to the proprietary interests of the Settlers. Even, however, were there a clear preponderance of advantage on the side of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN'S system, and if the Queen were at liberty to revert to it, the expensive and sanguinary warfare, by means of which alone it could be re-established, would be an evil for which no adequate compensation could be found in that anticipated advantage. For these reasons it has not been in my power to advise the Queen to accede to the request of the memorialists.

Such was the egregious trifling of the Government with a matter on which depended the vital interests of the inhabitants of this Frontier, and which has subsequently been productive of all that wide-spread ruin we now see around, and of that waste of money and of life which has recently taken place. Surely the Colonists must be held perfectly harmless; they dealt faithfully with the authorities, and would fain, by any and every means, had it been within their power, have roused them to the adoption of measures calculated to turn aside the impending misfortunes. The hollowness of this reply of the Colonial Minister was exposed at the time by the publication of undeniable *data*, confirmatory of every fact which had been called in question. On this subject the local *Journal* of the day triumphantly remarks:

Lord STANLEY has felt himself authorised, from the representations made to him by the local authorities of the Colony, to impugn the credibility of the memorialists, who, indeed, may fairly be considered to represent the whole of the inhabitants of the Border districts. It might not be out of place to remark upon the startling indifference which is manifested upon the subject of murder committed by the Kaffirs on British subjects. It would appear that in order to fritter away as much as possible the complaints of the petitioners, a Return was transmitted with these memorials, showing that ONLY ten British subjects

had been murdered within the last five years by the Natives, and that two of these murders had been perpetrated not by Kaffirs, but by Fingoes. Assuming this to be a correct Return, the Colonial Minister infers that the amount of eighty murders, which appears to have been stated by some one, though not contained in any of the memorials, must be an exaggeration—in other words, *untrue!*

Time and place and name here follow, in reference to the subject-matter of dispute, and which show that between Sept., 1836, and the close of 1839, no less than 85 murders had been perpetrated by the Kaffirs, and 19 attempts at murder, to say nothing of robberies and aggressions innumerable.

About this time a Dutch farmer, name DE LANGE, residing on the Fish River, about 25 miles from Graham's Town, while attempting to defend his cattle from capture, was shot by Kaffir marauders, under circumstances which are thus recorded :

The unfortunate man named, who was distinguished for his vigilance, activity, and intrepidity, was engaged with others in the pursuit of stolen cattle; they had discovered a drove of beasts and some Kaffir robbers in a dense kloof bordering the Fish River; and here, while standing on a projecting mass of rock shouting to his companions, he was picked off, and fell mortally wounded by a musket shot, fired with fatal precision by one of the marauders concealed in the thicket beneath. He was conveyed by his companions to his dwelling, where, after lingering for several days, enduring intense agony, he expired, leaving a wife and family of several children to deplore his untimely fate—another victim to a system at variance alike with common sense, justice, and political expediency.

Another farmer, named GROBBLER, residing in the adjoining district of Somerset, was shot at and severely wounded about the same time by the Kaffirs, while daring and atrocious robberies were continually committed by them. Out of these we only particularize the robbery of Lieutenant JERVOIS, R.E.,* in the public highway—he being stopped by a number of Kaffirs in open day near Fort Beaufort, menaced with violence, and robbed of whatever the marauders thought fit to abstract from his person. These daring aggressions occasioned, as usual, a great deal of excitement at the moment, and a show of vigour was again exhibited by the Lieutenant-Governor—His Honour proceeding to Fort Beaufort, calling out the military, and making

* Now Governor of South Australia.

a demand of 200 head of cattle for the widow and family of the murdered farmer. On the subject of these proceedings the local press offers the following observations :

Amidst all this show of vigour there is much temporizing, and much that is obscure. Why not go calmly but inflexibly to work ? Demand the criminals within a short but sufficient period ; and for default resume at once the Neutral Territory, publicly declaring the reasons for so doing ; establish British law, giving notice that all the present inhabitants, untainted by offence, would be permitted to reside there on condition of good behaviour, and of consentaneous adherence to such regulations as should hereafter be adopted for their Government. This would be a grand step towards the civilization of these people, and one which would be clearly understood and duly appreciated by them. It would be, moreover, in accordance not only with the treaties, but with the soundest principles of international law, and which are well embodied by VATTÉL in the following words, where, speaking of the Usbecks, a horde of predatory Tartars, he remarks :

“The princes whose subjects are robbed and massacred, and whose lands are infested by those robbers, may justly level their vengeance against the nation at large. Nay, more, all nations have a right to enter into a league against such people, to repress them, and to treat them as the common enemies of the human race.”

It will now be seen that had such advice as is here given been acted upon, the ruinous war, with all its calamities, of 1846, might have been entirely averted. It will only be necessary to add, in order to show the character of the people with whom we have to deal, and the sort of reparation made to our Government, that four Kaffirs were given up, at the demand of the Lieutenant-Governor, as being the murderers of the farmer DE LANGE, but who, as it was proved subsequently, were altogether innocent of the crime with which they stood charged.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNOR SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND VISITS THE FRONTIER.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Jan. 16, 1847.

THE untimely fate of this individual, who was much esteemed in the locality where he dwelt, led to a meeting of Dutch farmers, at which an old resident of the Frontier, named J. D. NEL, made the following pertinent observations :

He had used his utmost influence in preventing many of his countrymen from quitting the Colony, and but for him the greater portion of those whom he was then addressing would not have been in the Colony. He rode amongst his countrymen night and day, as far even as the Winterberg, and though often meeting with rebuffs, he persevered, and induced many to wait a little longer, in the hopes of a change. In consequence, however, of the recent murder of their esteemed and courageous countryman, whose death they all so deeply deplored, the Dutch farmers, almost to a man, resolved at once to quit the Colony, and join their countrymen over the Border, who had been driven from the land of their birth by the same system of oppression under which they were still suffering. He again interfered, and with the assistance of two friends then present, induced their countrymen to make one last effort more, on the result of which would hang their fate. He hoped something would be done now, and that their lives, their property, and their feelings would be no longer trifled with. He had been a very severe sufferer by the Kaffirs, and but for the assistance received by him from the members of his Church, he and his family might at the present moment be suffering from want. The Kaffirs were now armed with *guns*, the original cause of which could be traced to the treaties. Every Frontier farmer was compelled, according to the treaties, to arm his herdsman, but what could a single man with a gun do against 30 or 40 robbers, who watch him, spring upon him unawares, take his gun from him, and then either murder or tie him to a tree ? These were not idle suppositions, but facts within his own knowledge, which had happened to him, and which he would prove. He had a Kaffir herdsman who, since the war, robbed him of about 60 goats ; some time afterwards a faithful Hottentot servant watched the Kaffir, caught him in the act of slaughtering three or four bucks, and gave information of the fact to him (NEL). When the Kaffir heard this he ran off ; but a few days subsequently he returned and watched the faithful Hottentot, whom he suddenly seized and barbarously murdered almost in sight of his (NEL's) house. He (NEL) succeeded in apprehending the murderer, and sent him to Fort Beaufort ;

but what was the sequel? The murderer, though handed over to the Colonial authorities, was suffered to escape, and, for aught he knew to the contrary, was still at large. Another of his herdsmen had been barbarously murdered by Kaffirs, and one wounded. It was impossible for a single armed man effectually to defend himself against a host of armed savages. The very gun which he carried became the inducement to waylay and murder him.

These occurrences on the Frontier at length so aroused the serious attention of Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND as to induce him at once to visit the Frontier, where he accordingly arrived about the middle of September. On reaching Graham's Town, an Address was presented to His Excellency, in which the subject of the disturbed state of the Border forms the prominent topic, and to which His Excellency was pleased to make the following reply:

You do me but justice in believing me to be animated by a sincere desire to mitigate, as far as possible, the evils to which the Frontier farmers are liable, and to protect the inhabitants of the Eastern Districts from depredation and personal outrage. I shall indeed only act in obedience to the commands of my Gracious Sovereign in employing my utmost endeavours to effect this desirable result, without, at the same time, deviating from the equitable treatment due to our uncivilized neighbours.

On this visit His Excellency was accompanied by Mr. MONTAGU, the Secretary to Government, whose reputation as a zealous, an active, and an able public servant was such as to excite the most pleasing hopes amongst the Frontier residents of a radical alteration in the system of Border relations, under which they had so long and so grievously suffered. These expectations were, it will be seen, not altogether disappointed.

On the 19th Sept. we find Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND at Fort Peddie, in the Ceded Territory. Here a meeting of the Kaffir Chiefs was held, at which it was proposed to make some material alterations in the then existing Border relations. The particulars of these proceedings are thus recorded:

The Chiefs met in the square in the front of the hospital, under the verandah, on which a table and chair was placed for His Excellency. A guard of honour of the 27th Regiment, under Captain MACLEAN, was drawn up on the ground. The treaties were explained and rendered into the Kaffir language by Mr. T. SHEPSTONE, the Government Agent, who acquitted himself with his usual ability. As every article was read over to the Chiefs, they signified their assent to the same.

The following clause in the new arrangements will show the benevolent spirit in which the whole code was conceived :

The Governor of the Colony, as a mark of friendship, and to enable the contracting Chiefs to employ proper persons to apprehend criminals, and to prevent property stolen within the Colony from being brought into their territories, engages to make an annual present in money or useful articles to the amount of £100 to the Chiefs of the Slambie tribe, £50 to the Chiefs of the Congo tribe, and £50 to the Chiefs of the Fingoe tribes resident at Fort Peddie Settlement, the latter to be applied to the establishment of schools, and the improvement of the Fingoes in civilization, so long as they observe the terms of this treaty, and remain the faithful allies of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.

The good effect of these arrangements upon the public mind on the Frontier may be conceived from the following, as recorded in the local paper of the day :

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which the announcement contained in the foregoing was received here. All seemed to concur in the value of the measure, the public satisfaction being evinced at night by a brilliant illumination throughout the town. Bonfires of old tar-barrels were lit up ; discharges of guns were heard in every direction ; while the amateur band mustered in force, and contributed to the general hilarity by an exertion of their musical skill in the open air in the more public quarters of the town. Great numbers of the inhabitants were perambulating the streets, where, in many parts, the blaze of light was as refulgent as day. All seemed in good humour, each vieing with his neighbour in his congratulations upon the auspicious occasion.

In closing our report of these proceedings, we feel it incumbent upon us to guard the public against forming on the subject of these new arrangements hasty opinions, and taking it for granted that they will be found in the working absolutely faultless. It is more than probable that the finger of experience may hereafter point to many defects ; but it would be an ungracious task just now to anticipate this, and to attempt to damp the public exultation by whispering suspicions, and by croaking of supposed difficulties, which, after all may only lay in the imagination, and not in actual fact. Under every supposable contingency, it is an immense stride to know that the old system has received its *quietus*, and that there are both the will and the power at head-quarters to mete out to all, whether white or black, Kaffir or Colonist, even-handed, substantial justice.

From Fort Peddie His Excellency the Governor proceeded upwards to Fort Beaufort, where gatherings were held of the Gaika Chiefs and other people. Here His Excellency received a very luminous Address from the inhabitants, from which the

following extract must suffice by way of example of the spirit of the whole :

We have overcome the difficulties and trials consequent upon settlement in a strange land ; we have attained some knowledge (at our own cost) of the variance of climate, soil, and seasons of this land of our adoption, compared with our native land, and by the blessing of Providence we see *the promised land*, yet we cannot take possession, because our own Government has reared an insurmountable barrier. No caution, no vigilance, no foresight on our part can avert "the day by day losses" we sustain from our proximity to a people unrestrained by law or conscience, and bent upon the plunder and destruction of the Colony. The arduous, dangerous, and too often ineffectual duty imposed upon us to trace or spoor stolen property to the Kaffir boundary, the defective regulations of the Kaffir Police, the absence of a judicious vagrant law, the difficulty, expense, loss of time, risk and uncertainty in procuring compensation for proved robberies, directly encourage theft, and award protection to adroit and dexterous thieves.

Simultaneously with this, another Address was presented from the farmers of the Kaga and Winterberg, two of the most beautiful and fertile divisions of the Colony, and which contains the following earnest and affecting passages :

The evils we have been subjected to ever since our arrival in this Colony have been so serious as to have caused about 20,000 of the industrious and peaceable Dutch farmers to fly from the Colony, and to seek a home in an unknown wilderness.

We cannot avoid quoting the concluding words of their affecting party manifesto :

"We are now quitting the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are entering a wild and dangerous territory ; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-just, and merciful Being, whom it will be our endeavour to fear and humbly to obey."

These heart-rending expressions were uttered in 1837 by British subjects.

We have borne all the cruel vexations they complained of, and from that date to the date of this Address, we have experienced *no* amelioration of (we may almost say no sympathy in) our distresses.

These proceedings at Fort Beaufort are thus adverted to in the public records of the day :

His Excellency has filled up every moment of interval by attention to important matters, chiefly, however, connected with military details. That part of the Ceded Territory in the occupation of the Gaika clans has been carefully inspected by His Excellency, he having ridden over the ground as far as Fort Willshire, and made his arrangements accordingly. The result, as far as at present known, is that the camps recently formed are or will be broken up, and the whole of the troops concentrated near what is called TOLA's kraal in the ceded country. Here a large and permanent post will be

immediately established. It is understood that the head-quarters of the Cape Mounted Rifles will be here—a corps peculiarly well calculated for the duties of this Frontier; it is commanded by an officer (Colonel SOMERSET) in whom both the Colonists and Kaffirs have confidence, and whose knowledge, both of people and country, is, from long experience, beyond that of any officer at present serving in the Colony.

This military post, subsequently named Post Victoria, was immediately afterwards established on the spot indicated, and was maintained with considerable advantage until the beginning of the war of 1846, when it was deemed desirable to evacuate it, the stores being conveyed to Fort Beaufort, and the buildings fired to prevent them from affording cover to the enemy.

The meeting between Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND and the Gaika clans is recorded in the following terms :

A body of about 400 Kaffirs had assembled on the high ground forming the bank of the Kat River, where they awaited the Governor's pleasure. From this position they could distinctly view the rapid evolutions of the Guards, as their brazen helmets glittered and their swords flashed in the bright sunshine. At twelve o'clock an aide-de-camp was despatched to the Chiefs with the much-wished-for permission to cross the river, and which was quickly done in rather a tumultuous manner. About 150 were mounted, who, with their followers, fell into some order as they moved forward to the spot where His Excellency waited to receive them. This was the square facing the military mess-house, the verandah in front forming a convenient platform, from which His Excellency could overlook the motley assemblage before him. There were also present His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. J. MONTAGU (Secretary to Government), Lord MANDEVILLE, Mr. MAITLAND, and others of His Excellency's suite ; Colonel SOMERSET, Lieutenant-Colonel RICHARDSON (7th Dragoon Guards), and other military officers.

On the floor, nearly facing the Governor, was the Chief SANDILLI, having on his right BOTMAN, and on his left MACOMO. The Chief, Xo Xo stood immediately behind SANDILLI, together with several of his Pakati or Councillors, and a retinue of followers. The British Agent, FVNN, resident on the Tambookie Frontier, acted as interpreter, and acquitted himself with much credit. On the Chiefs taking the places appointed them, he introduced His Excellency to their notice, to which they respectfully and impressively responded, "OUR FATHER!"

Silence being obtained, His Excellency then read a message to the assembled Chiefs, which was translated to them sentence by sentence. The following are the more striking passages of this important State paper :

When His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, wearied with the depredations and outrages committed in the Colony by the people of the Gaika tribes,

was moved to enter the Neutral Territory with Her Majesty's troops, in order to obtain the murderers of the farmer DE LANGE, His Honour declared that the Queen's troops should not leave the territory until the murderers were delivered up. The Gaika Chiefs first sheltered these men, then suffered them to escape, and two only of the seven have been given into our hands. * * *

Experience has, unhappily, proved how little these conditions have been regarded, and what numberless acts of outrage and depredation have been continually committed on the Colony under the shelter of friendly treaties.

If the hearts of the Chiefs are honestly set upon restraining their people from such acts, the presence of Her Majesty's troops will strengthen their hands to effect it. If this measure fails, others more decisive must be resorted to; but before they resolve to persevere in a system which it would be criminal in the British Government to tolerate, His Excellency would recommend the Gaika Chiefs to consider well where they can hope to find so desirable a country, or so generous a protection, as that which they seem insanely determined to forfeit. * * * * *

If they fail, therefore, of enjoying, through their evil conduct, the friendship and protection which the British Government is anxious to afford them, their failure will rest entirely upon their own choice; they will have no one to condemn for it out themselves.

On quitting Fort Beaufort His Excellency proceeded upwards to the North-East, and at the Tarka Post was again addressed by the inhabitants of that part of the Border; they, in the document presented to him, place upon record the following statement:

We cannot hide it from Your Excellency, that our hearts yet bleed with the loss of relations and fellow-countrymen who have abandoned the land of their birth, and have gone beyond the boundary of the Colony to seek that peace and security which they could not obtain here. That our sorrow is not without cause Your Excellency will believe, when we state that about 20,000 of our countrymen abandoned the Colony during the late distressing emigration, whereby the ties of fraternity and kindred have been severed, and we have been left only to hear the distressing intelligence of nearly 1,000 of them falling victims to the Native tribes. But that which has increased our suffering, and to which we particularly wish to direct Your Excellency's attention, has been the continued system of plunder carried on by the Native tribes on our Border (as the accompanying list will show), which, for want of time, does not contain more than one-half of the amount of property actually stolen from this part of the Colony.

These proceedings had, for a time, a very salutary effect in allaying the turbulence of the Kaffir tribes; and hopes were excited which, it is most deeply to be regretted, proved in the sequel as transient as the summer's cloud. Still, the Colonists were anxious to hope, even though against hope, to indulge

the most cheerful anticipations, and to give the most favourable construction to every step which has been taken towards the attainment of that repose of which they felt they stood so much in need. In this spirit the local *Journal*, giving expression to the public sentiment, in summing up the occurrences of the year 1844, records the following remarks :

The first great event of the year is the change in the head of the Government. The arrival of His Excellency Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND is worthy, as we think, of being distinguished as a red-letter day in the calendar of the Colony. He came the harbinger of liberal sentiments, and of rational, manly freedom. His first declaration in the Legislative Council gave animation to the drooping public confidence of the people, which his subsequent administration has most amply confirmed.

The great public measures of the year have been an improved system of public finance; the adoption of a liberal system of immigration from the parent country; the entire abolition of port dues; the employment of the convicts on the public roads; the entire abrogation of the obnoxious and mischievous treaties with the Kaffirs, and the substitution of a better and more rational policy in dealing with that people. Each of these is of itself sufficient to stamp with the impress of ability any administration; but altogether they give that high character to the Executive of this Colony which it is no less our pleasing task to record, than it will be for the people at large to confirm, by their steady, cheerful testimony.

This will show very distinctly the tone of public feeling, and is sufficient proof that the inhabitants of this Frontier were entitled to the high consideration of their Government, and that by every means in their power, consistent with unshaken loyalty, they endeavoured to avert those calamities by which, in spite of all their efforts, they were subsequently overtaken.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WORKING OF GOVERNOR SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND'S
POLICY.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Jan. 23, 1847.

THE year 1845 opened upon [this Frontier under circumstances which seemed to give promise to the inhabitants of some little cessation of that worry, turmoil, and loss, against which, for so many years, they had been so incessantly obliged to struggle. Unfortunately, they were again compelled to drink the bitter cup of disappointment; for no sooner had Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND turned his back upon the Border than the same audacious spirit was displayed as before, while aggressions were as rife within the Colony as at any former period. There was reason to believe, too, that the Kaffirs had been ill-advised to make objections to the new arrangements, and by so doing to embarrass and annoy the Colonial Government. This is explained in the following extract from the public records of the day.

Lieutenant-Governor HARE having proceeded to the new Post of Victoria, had sent messages to the several Chiefs to meet him there in order to ratify the new treaties. The local *Journal* thus narrates these proceedings :

Monday, the 3rd January, about 7 o'clock, MACOMO, Xo Xo (KLUKLU), and VANDAAL (BOTMAN'S eldest son)—his father being on a visit to the Congoes, with about 300 or 400 followers—arrived. But there was no SANDILLI, though His Honour waited till two o'clock. At length, tired of the delay, His Honour determined to hold the meeting, and gave directions for the Kaffirs to assemble. His Honour then proceeded to read article by article of the new treaties, which were interpreted sentence by sentence by Mr. G. CYRUS. On concluding, His Honour told the Kaffirs he would give them eight days to consider the subject, desiring them to return home, and, if they had any doubts upon any point, to consult their worthy *pastor** at

* The Rev. Mr. CALDERWOOD, since appointed British Resident Commissioner with the same post.

Block Drift, of whom they would receive every information. MACOMO asked, as agents were mentioned in the new treaties, how many there were to be, and also how the boundaries were to be drawn? To the latter, His Honour replied, the same as had been fixed by Lord C. SOMERSET.

January 21st. A meeting of the Gaika Chiefs was held at Block Drift, the residence of the Diplomatic Agent, STRETCH, for the purpose of ratifying the new treaty or engagement, submitted to them by the Lieut.-Governor at Port Victoria. A considerable number of Kaffirs attended, including all the influential Chiefs, viz., SANDILLI, MACOMO, BOTMAN, ENO, STOCK, XOXO, SONTU, and TZATZOE.

After a good many frivolous objections, which were ultimately waived, they insisted upon the repeal of one clause, viz., the 19th, which they declared they would neither listen nor consent to. This clause goes to make it imperative on them not to oppose any hindrance to their people attending the Missionary Stations, or receiving instruction in Christianity. Against this they hypocritically argued :

That, having themselves received teachers, they considered them as part and parcel of their communities, and that should any captain among them refuse to assist a Missionary, he (the Missionary) had only to appeal to the nearest Chief, and all the Chiefs would unite to see him righted; but that in this matter they could not recognize the right of interference by the Colonial Government.

The unsatisfactory state of affairs on the Frontier, arising from the growing audacity of the Kaffirs, was not only displayed at this period among the Gaika tribes; it was equally manifest among the other tribes along the coast, of which an example is given in the following passage, taken from the public records of the day :

Yesterday, at Fort Peddie, there was considerable excitement, which nearly terminated in a serious affray between the Fingoes and troops on the one side, and the Kaffirs on the other. The facts are these :—It appears that some horses stolen from Mr. BIDDULPH, of Birbury (as was correctly stated in the papers a week or two since), were traced into this Chief's (PATO's) territory, and, according to the spirit of the new treaty made last week, the horses and thieves were demanded by the Resident Agent, and, not being forthcoming at the given time, he called out the Fingoes, and at night captured 400 head of cattle, to keep till the horses and thieves were given up. Upon taking the cattle the Kaffirs resisted, and shots were fired between the two sable parties. Ultimately, it was deemed necessary to call out the troops, but even then the Kaffirs unexpectedly stood their ground—their guns loaded and cocked, daring the Dragoons to come on. It was much feared that the Kaffirs

would have been rash enough to fire on the Dragoons, in which case a charge upon them would have been inevitable, and they must have suffered by the Dragoons' heavy swords. However, they at last retired, and we retain the cattle till the horses and thieves are brought out.

This was followed by several daring highway robberies in open day, of which the following, recorded at the period in question, will be sufficient examples :

Sergeant C. CRAWFORD, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, with a corporal of the same corps, had been on duty from Fort Beaufort to Post Victoria, and was returning to the former place on Tuesday night, when, on reaching a spot about 200 yards on this side of CARPENTER'S Drift, the boundary of Fort Beaufort, three Kaffirs, armed with assegais, sprang out of the bush by the side of the road. They seized the reins of the corporal's horse, on seeing which the sergeant, who was just in the rear, called out to him to draw his carbine from the buckets. He was in the act of doing so, when a Kaffir instantly seized it. Sergeant CRAWFORD then endeavoured, with a stick, which he happened to have in his hand, to fell the assailant to the ground ; the Kaffir avoided the blow, and was about to stab the sergeant with his assegai, when he clapped spurs to his horse, which dashed upon the villain and knocked him down. In the meantime the Kaffirs were endeavouring to take the corporal's horse, and also one led by him. In the confusion the led horse broke loose, which, however, followed the two men, who, by dint of spurring, succeeded at length in reaching the fort.

The time of this occurrence was about 8 o'clock in the evening, and about 11 o'clock the same night Cornet BUNBURY, 7th Dragoon Guards, was waylaid, in all probability by the same ruffians. Mr. BUNBURY was returning also from Post Victoria, and was within 4 or 5 miles of Fort Beaufort, when, on reaching a point where the roads from Post Victoria and Block Drift meet, he was stopped by three armed Kaffirs. Mr. BUNBURY, conceiving resistance imprudent, permitted the robbers to take his bridle from his horse, and also the girths. They then rifled his pockets of some loose money, missing, fortunately, a large sum which was in a small aperture in his riding jacket. Having taken from him what they pleased, the marauders decamped, leaving their victim without personal injury to wend his way to his quarters in the best manner he could.

On the evening of the 11th February, Lieut. O'REILLY, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, in company with Mr. YOUNG, of the Commissariat Department, was riding along the Frontier near Fort Beaufort, when, on reaching the turn of the road to Block Drift, three armed Kaffirs suddenly sprang out of the bush, seized the bridles of their horses, and compelled them to dismount. The ruffians then proceeded to rifle him and his companion of such articles as appeared to them of value. The bridles were taken from the horses ; cash, whips, clothing, &c., were then, *sans cérémonie*, duly appropriated by the marauders, after which the parties were permitted to proceed in light marching order to their respective quarters.

Information reached town this morning of a daring outrage by two Kaffirs on a wagon while on its way to meet Mrs. SHAW (wife of the Rev.

W. SHAW), who was travelling to Graham's Town. The wagon had been outspanned near Fraser's Camp, the driver and leader of it sitting, as is customary, on the ground. At this moment two armed Kaffirs suddenly emerged from the thicket, and menaced the two men with their assegais, who instantly fled. The marauders then proceeded to rifle the wagon; the flaps of the sail were quickly cut off, the oxen severed from the yokes, and the reins taken from their heads. Fortunately, just as the oxen were being driven off, the Rev. Mr. IMPEY, with Mrs. SHAW, came up, and the ruffians immediately plunged into the bush and escaped.

It was some relief to the Frontier Colonists to know, at this period, that their cause was warmly espoused by a portion of the public press at home, whose articles were promptly transferred to the Colonial papers, and widely diffused. Among English papers of authority, the *Colonial Gazette* put forth several very ably written articles, in which the treatment of the inhabitants here was dwelt upon in terms of glowing indignation. Our rulers might peruse those articles at the present day with the greatest possible advantage to any future arrangements which may be made for the settlement of this country. The London *Atlas* also put forth an admirable paper on the subject, which excited attention, not more for the ability and nerve with which it was written, than for the general accuracy of its several details. The following is a brief extract from this well-written article:

In the middle of 1834, Sir B. D'URBAN invited the Kaffirs to enter into such new arrangements with the Colonial Government as should be "advantageous and agreeable to them. Their reply to this invitation was an irruption in December, 1834, across the Frontier line at Albany. "I cannot," wrote Sir BENJAMIN to Secretary SPRING RICE, on 24th Jan., 1835, "adequately point out to you the devastation and horrors those merciless barbarians have committed. This fertile and beautiful province is almost a desert, and the murders which have gone hand in hand with all this work of pillage and rapine have deeply aggravated its atrocity." By a series of military operations, which have received the admiration of every military man who has studied them, this unprovoked invasion was driven back, the Kaffirs chastised, and brought to pray for peace. These operations were performed by Colonel (now Sir Harry) SMITH. Governor D'URBAN first informed the Colonial Office of the invasion on the 5th January, 1835; and during the progress of the war kept that department fully acquainted with its events. With the exception of a single despatch in April from Lord GLENELG, containing a bare acknowledgment of the receipt of some of his communications, Sir B. D'URBAN received not a line from the Colonial Office until Lord GLENELG sat down, on the 26th Dec., 1835, to write to him a treatise of disapproval. Thus for nearly twelve months, and that during a most calamitous war, the

Cape Colony and its Governor were abandoned by their superiors—the Imperial authorities. Intermediately, however, the war was brought to a conclusion by the treaty of peace. Sir B. D'URBAN had thrown the Frontier back to a naturally strong and therefore more inexpensively defended Frontier; had made the Kaffirs residing in the territory between the new and the old Frontiers British subjects; and had added to the Cape what it much wanted to render it attractive to European emigration of labour and capital, a new and most fertile province, which he called Adelaide. Thus he at once protected the Colony from future invasions, the Colonists from the danger of further irruptions, and the Kaffirs from the hostility of the Colonists. This peace was almost universally hailed in the Colony as a new era in its history; from all quarters Sir B. D'URBAN was addressed in approval of it; and memorials were sent home imploring the Imperial Government to confirm the treaty.

By the Despatch of the 26th December, 1835, Lord GLENELG reversed all that had been done, censured the war as unnecessary, and the mode in which it had been conducted as cruel, and refused to ratify the treaty of peace. And all this, not merely without calling on Governor D'URBAN for any explanation, but, as that Governor was informed, on information supplied to him (Lord GLENELG) by parties at home, which information he declined to allow Sir B. D'URBAN to see. This Despatch is, in fact, a monster Bill of indictment against Sir B. D'URBAN and Col. SMITH; and it is not too much to say of it, that *the anonymous information on which it was founded was false; that the statements it contained were falser; and that the conclusions it propounded were yet falsest.* The instigation at which, and the animus with which it was written, became, however, quickly apparent. It bears date the 26th December; Parliament met in the February following. On the 8th March Mr. BUXTON moved for the production of all correspondence relative to the Kaffir war. The motion, *contrary to the rule which forbids unfinished correspondence to be discussed*, was acceded to. And *two days afterwards* the correspondence was laid before the House of Commons. (Parl. Paper, Sess. 1836, No. 279.) Its publication brought down upon Sir B. D'URBAN the press of the Saints, and left the opposite press without any means of defending an absent public servant. Public opinion was in consequence led astray, and the Kaffir war and its results—the former merely defensive, and the latter most beneficial—were nearly universally condemned. Nor were its publication and its effects at home all. Accompanying this Despatch, the Colonial Office laid before Parliament an *official and most "confidential"* communication from Governor D'URBAN, urging the Colonial Office to remove the seat of Government from Cape Town to a more central position; and thereby endeavoured to render His Excellency unpopular with the most powerful party in the Colony.

Almost contemporaneously with the Despatch of the 26th December, Lord GLENELG sent out Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM as Lieut.-Governor of the Eastern Province, with instructions to negotiate new relations with the Kaffirs. By these new relations the Kaffirs were restored to independence; another imaginary Frontier line was laid down, and temptations were held out for the Kaffirs to rob more than before. These relations are known as the Stockenstrom Treaties.

To the despatch of the 26th December, both Sir B. D'URBAN and Col. SMITH made detailed and indignant, but most successful replies. *More triumphant defence we never read.* He spoke, as he felt, of the treatment he had received. On the 1st May, 1837, Lord GLENELG rejoined at length, much lower in tone, and occasionally apologetic in language; but concluded in stating that Sir B. D'URBAN had left him no alternative save that of dismissing him from the Government of the Cape—and dismissed that brave old soldier was. He left, however, with the regret and applause of the whole Colony.

Towards the close of April some serious disturbances took place between the farmers, who had emigrated from the Colony, and the Griquas, residing beyond the Northern boundary. To quell this commotion, a large proportion of the troops were marched from the Kaffir boundary into the disturbed country. This movement seems to have served as a signal to the Kaffirs for increased activity in the commission of depredations upon the Colonial farmers. Thus the local *Journal* of the day (May 22nd, 1845,) contains the following from a correspondent at Fort Beaufort:

Those restless thieves, the Kaffirs, are taking advantage of the temporary absence of the Dragoons, by committing depredations in this neighbourhood. No sooner was it known that the troops were preparing to march to Colesberg, than the Kaffirs flocked into Fort Beaufort, many of them pretending to be Fingoes, and asking for work. The object of these men evidently was, from their enquiries, to learn the exact movements of the troops, and especially with whom they were going to fight, &c., and no sooner had the soldiers departed, than they commenced their old *trade* of plundering the inhabitants, and which they will never leave off if they can help it, despite of all the treaties that can be made with them, or all the benefactions which can be bestowed upon them by the English Government.

I may also state that it is now almost impossible to trace horses out of Fort Beaufort, from the fact that so many Kaffirs on horseback are continually passing and repassing the boundary, and hence the *spoor* cannot be carried through the drifts, trodden out by, or mingled, as it is, with other footmarks. If matters continue in this way the tables will be completely turned. The Kaffirs (who a short time since were without a horse) will be all cavalry, and the Colonists all infantry. Already several persons in Fort Beaufort have been robbed of every horse they possessed, while there are few Kaffirs, however poor in other respects, who cannot command a riding horse. Persons are quite tired of purchasing horses, as they so seldom keep them many weeks before they are stolen.

Again, a few weeks subsequently to this, we find the following remonstrance among the public records of the period, appended

to a long list of robberies of horses and cattle committed on the Colonial farmers :

The Kaffirs must be dealt with as a nation, neither governed by righteous laws, nor restrained by moral principle. They are, in fact, professional thieves ; and adroitness in plundering the Colony is viewed by them as the highest excellence. Forgetfulness of this by the Colonial authorities is the origin of all the mischief which happens at their hands to the farmers of this Frontier. We stated at the outset our full conviction that nothing but decided action would render any measure available to the protection of property on this Frontier. The Chiefs either have or have not the power of controlling their people. If the former, why not compel them to maintain inviolate their engagements ? If the latter, why enter into engagements with them ? Why all this trifling with the lives and properties of a peaceful and industrious people like our exposed Border farmers ?

In consequence of this unsettled state of the Frontier, Governor Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, who had been obliged to make a toilsome journey from Cape Town to the Bechuana country, came down the Frontier, and arrived again at Fort Beaufort in the beginning of July, 1845. His Excellency's journey is thus referred to in the records of the day :

His Excellency the Governor left Cradock on Monday, and reached the dwelling of Mr. TROLLIP, at Daggeboer's Nek, the same evening, where he slept. The next day, about 11 o'clock, he reached the farm of Mr. G. STOKES, on the Baviaans' River, where a relay of oxen were in readiness, it being found impossible to obtain carriage horses to take His Excellency forward. Here a party of the Frontier inhabitants had assembled, prepared with an Address, complaining strongly of the continual aggressions of the neighbouring Kaffirs. His Excellency did not quit his wagon, but the Address was received by him very graciously, and an assurance given that the subject-matter of it should receive his earnest consideration. The Address was read to His Excellency by the Honourable Attorney-General. Tuesday night Sir PEREGRINE slept at the Kaga, now called Maastrom, the property of Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM. Yesterday His Excellency reached Fort Beaufort, where Col. SOMERSET and the Diplomatic Agent (STRETCH) were waiting to receive him.

The local *Journal* describes the state of affairs, at this period, in the following terms :

The Frontier is in a most unsettled state, arising from the aggressions of the Kaffirs, scarcely a day passing without the commission of some robbery on the Colonial farmers, who are, in consequence, in a state of much excitement. To elude pursuit, and prevent the possibility of being followed on the spoor, several large tracts of pasturage have been fired by the marauders, to the very serious injury, at this season of drought, to the several proprietors.

The Kaffirs, it is said, display unwonted audacity, and that nothing but the greatest forbearance on the part of the military has saved the Frontier from a serious commotion. Amongst other losses, some 20 or 30 head of cattle have been swept from the farm of Mr. BERTRAM, Mill River. Pursuit was made, and continued into Kaffirland, but without success. the Government horse, in the possession of Commissariat Clerk JOHNS, and some slaughter cattle belonging to the contractor, have been stolen from Victoria Post.

A week afterwards we find the following faithful statement placed upon public record :

In our last number we noticed the great restlessness and audacious conduct lately exhibited by the Kaffirs on our Border. We regret to state that subsequent events should have given additional force to these observations in both particulars. We some time ago had occasion to remark that our Government, in dealing with the Kaffirs, were but "petting the young tiger," and it appears but too probable that the result of our coaxing and wheedling will fully bear out the simile. It is very certain, and the idea is not a new one, that if peace is to be preserved on the Frontier, and life and property are to be rendered safe, we must deal with the Kaffirs as they really are, and not as we would fain have them to be. It may be very pretty employment at a distance to paint these people as unsophisticated children of nature, as possessing all the manly virtues, love of country, independence, courage, &c. It may be a pretty and amusing theory which leads to the conclusion that, in all our disputes with them, the white man *must* be, of course, the aggressor, and that *they* are an abused, a persecuted, and a traduced people. Three months' near neighbourhood is, however, generally sufficient to dispel entirely all such fanciful illusions. A closer approach and a more intimate acquaintance discover the cheat, and shew that the "simplicity of nature," and other kindred phrases, may suit the vocabulary of the mawkish sentimentalist, or be in keeping with the heated imagination of the poet, but are utterly at variance with common sense and every-day experience.

Such being the fact—and it is utterly vain to disguise it—our Government have only the option of two courses of action, viz., either to place these people under such restraints as shall gradually undermine their vicious customs, and prevent them from the commission of aggression upon the Colony; or have so strong a military force upon the Border as may be able effectually to resist that constantly-increasing power which is springing up among them, and which will most assuredly, unless determinedly resisted, be employed to our serious injury. Our Government has made its election, and has chosen the latter alternative. It has not merely declined to impose upon the Kaffirs any restraint, but it has removed the curb which had, by a wiser policy, been placed upon their vicious immoral customs, proclaiming to them their perfect freedom from all control whatever on our part. Add to this that we have greatly augmented their power, while no sufficient checks have been provided against such power being employed in the commission of evil, in the spoliation of the Colony, or to the injury of those who have treated them with so much mistaken indulgence. Several parties of these people have entered the Colony, and have shown a disposition to resist any attempt to compel their return

within their own Border. One such party, we are told, entered the Kat River Settlement, and demeaned itself so turbulently that it was deemed necessary to call upon the military Commandant of the adjacent post at the Chumie for protection. On requiring them to retire, this officer (Ensign FITZGERALD, 91st Regiment) was treated with so much contemptuous ridicule that he felt it necessary to order his detachment to compel obedience. It appears, however, that on the men presenting their guns, the Kaffirs, nothing dismayed, audaciously threw their karosses (skin cloaks) over the muzzles of their pieces, loudly shouting at the same time. The upshot of the matter was that the soldiers fired, and several of them were severely wounded. They eventually retired, evidently much excited.

Among other facts, showing the temper and boldness of the Kaffirs, an instance may be mentioned in which Colonel SOMERSET, and a party of military with whom he was patrolling the boundary, were set at defiance. It appears that this officer was proceeding on the 1st instant through a valley bordering the Umgello, when he observed a Kaffir, whom he recognised as one of the Pakati or Councillors of the late Chief TYLIA, driving three oxen, which from their size and appearance he judged to be Colonial cattle. While questioning the Kaffir on the subject of these cattle, and which in the meantime had ran off, and also respecting a number of horses and mares then grazing in the valley, the Kaffirs assembled in considerable force, armed themselves, and endeavoured to surround the military party. Colonel SOMERSET appears to have acted with equal coolness and judgment. Drawing up his men he emphatically warned the Pakati of the consequences of any hostile movement on the part of his countrymen, insisting upon the oxen which had escaped being brought back, that he might satisfy himself as to whether they could be identified as cattle stolen from the Colony. This decided conduct seems to have had the effect desired; the oxen were brought forward, but not being identified, were allowed to be driven away by the Kaffirs, while the troops proceeded quietly on their reconnoissance.

On Wednesday, the 9th inst., a daring outrage was committed on the military orderlies belonging to the Cape Mounted Rifles, while conveying the letter bags between Post Victoria and Fort Beaufort. These two men were within a few miles of the latter post, when, on one of them dismounting at a drift, three Kaffirs sprang from a bush, seized the horses, unseated the man in charge of the mail, and bruised and wounded him severely with their knobbed sticks. The poor fellow succeeded, however, in escaping, and making his way with the mail to the Fort, whence a party of military were immediately despatched to the spot. It turned out that the other soldier, in endeavouring to defend himself and save the horses, was likewise severely maltreated. The two horses were recovered, but the marauders made off with the saddles and bridles, and with the arms and ammunition of the men, one of whom is now in the military hospital, suffering under the injuries he received. His Excellency the Governor arrived at Fort Beaufort almost at the very moment the intelligence of this outrage reached that place.

Since this occurrence accounts have been received to the effect that the Kaffirs meditate another sweeping inroad into the Colony. The rumour has had the effect of inducing the authorities to adopt the most active measures to

meet, as far as possible, such an exigency. The military posts in front have been strengthened, and a Dispatch sent to Col. RICHARDSON to hasten his march from Colesberg with the 7th Dragoon Guards. Col. SOMERSET, in command at Post Victoria, has been most actively employed, taking every precaution which prudence and his long experience can suggest for the general protection.

The conduct of the Kaffirs has been of late so increasingly audacious that it seems scarcely probable anything short of signal chastisement will bring them to their senses. The young men, all of whom are warriors, are, it is said, most anxious to test their prowess in a conflict with the Colony, a desire which is greatly stimulated by the large number of horses they have acquired of late years, chiefly by theft from the Colony, and by the possession of firearms and gunpowder.

Such is the posture of affairs at this moment, of which it is necessary our exposed farmers should be fully informed, that they may be placed on their guard, and by prudent precautions ensure the safety of their respective families. The calamity of war may, and we trust will, be averted; but nevertheless, these continual alarms along the Frontier should be sufficient in themselves to convince our rulers of the extreme folly of temporising with these dishonest people. It should teach them the necessity of using our power, not so much in the punishment as in the PREVENTION of evil, and lead, as we trust it may, to the adoption of those decided measures which shall restore public confidence, and act as a salutary warning to every Native tribe with whom we have to deal in all time to come.

An earnest appeal like this would, one might have supposed, have aroused the attention of the local Executive to the most energetic measures to meet the portending storm; but unfortunately this was not the case. The authorities wilfully shut their eyes to the true state of affairs, and ultimately, as we now know, they were taken by *surprise*, and the Frontier was laid desolate; the Government for the time was paralyzed, and the exposed inhabitants driven from their homes, destroyed, or ruined.

CHAPTER XV.

A DARK PRESAGE OF AN IMPENDING STORM.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Jan. 23, 1847.

It will have been seen in our preceding remarks that the presence of Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND on the Frontier, and the establishment of Post Victoria in the Ceded Territory, overlooking the tract of country occupied by the restless Chief TOLA, had but a very partial effect in subduing that refractory spirit, but too evident, or in checking those aggressions upon the Frontier inhabitants of such frequent occurrence along the whole of the Border. *Everything, in fact, distinctly indicated that matters were fast ripening in Kaffirland for another inroad upon the Colony. Warning after warning was put forth, and endeavour after endeavour was made to induce the Government to adopt measures suited to the exigency. But all was in vain! An extraordinary darkness seemed to rest upon the minds of the local authorities, and a marvellous infatuation to guide all their measures in reference to the Frontier, exciting equal astonishment and surprise among reflecting persons acquainted with, or exposed to, the threatened danger. As an example in point, the following remarks from the local Journal of the date in question, viz., July, 1845, will be sufficient :*

All the information from beyond the Border recently received goes to show very clearly that the Kaffirs have been watching the result of the movement of the troops to the North-East with the most careful attention ; and, if what we are told be correct, it will be good policy for our Government not to place too much reliance upon the good faith or friendly professions of these people. It should not be forgotten that the wealth of the Colony is a continual cause of excitement to the Kaffir mind. His cupidity is powerfully stimulated by the sight of the horses and cattle of the Colonists, and it is neither from a feeling of regard to the Settlement nor from any moral restraint that he does not pounce upon them. Had any considerable body of our troops

been moved forward in quest of the Boers, and had they got embarrassed in the wide spread deserts beyond our North-East boundary, there can be little doubt but the Kaffirs would have taken advantage of the circumstance, and have displayed their constantly-increasing warlike propensities at the expense of the Colony.

* * * * *

Private effort may do, and is doing, something towards the civilization of these people, but the work must in all human probability be slow ; and in the meantime it is absolutely essential that the Colony on that side should be maintained and protected by British troops. Nothing except this prevents at this moment the Settlement from being overrun by these savage hordes. Here, be it observed, the Imperial Government has left nothing doubtful ; it has specifically declared that these people—a bold and numerous, a restless and dishonest race—shall be left in the full enjoyment (?) of their own savage customs ; and it has moreover placed them in the most favourable position for annoying the Colony. Hence the necessity for, and the justice that demands, a strong military force for the protection of the country, and as a shield to the persons and property of the more advanced inhabitants. The question here, it will be observed, is not one of mere policy, nor is it altogether one of pounds, shillings, or pence ; it has resolved itself into a matter of vital importance—of life or death. The Colony may endeavour to counteract and restrain its own onward impulse, but not so the natives ; they will continually press upon our front, which pressure, in their present moral condition, nothing but adequate physical resistance is, or will be able effectually to withstand.

That these apprehensions were perfectly well founded, will appear from the following, which we take from the same public records of a date fourteen days subsequently :

There is no abatement whatever of the audacity of the neighbouring Kaffirs, as adverted to in our last *Journal*. They prove by their conduct that they hold our threats extremely cheap—very intelligibly intimating that they are neither to be won by kindness, nor frightened into submission by empty menace. Even those among them who have shown, of late years, some disposition to maintain good terms with the Colony, now assume a bearing anything but conciliatory. Thus PATO seems hardly to deem it necessary to preserve an appearance of amity, *having even ventured to menace the Resident Agent at Fort Peddie*, purely, as we are given to understand, arising from the steady determination of that officer to screen the Fingoes from their machinations, caused by jealousy of their growing importance under the fostering influence of British rule. It will be well for the Government to look to this carefully, and to take *timely precautions* to counteract the sinister conduct of this bad principled and crafty Chief.

Within the last few days another farmer has narrowly escaped death while endeavouring to recover his stolen property from the hands of these restless, active despoilers. The facts of the case are as follows :—On Wednesday, 16th instant, seven horses were swept off from the farm Nieman's Kraal,

about 12 miles N.E. of Graham's Town, occupied by a Dutch family named VAN DER MERVIE. On discovering this loss, the Burghers, FRANS, ISAAC, and PIET VAN DER MERVIE, started off in pursuit of the plunderers. The *spoor* was soon found, leading through the most rugged and difficult part of the Fish River Bush. After a most toilsome pursuit, the route being very circuitous, and frequently threading the almost impervious thicket, the spoor was carried to "Grass Kop"—an open mount, situated in a large bend of the Fish River, a short distance below Fort Brown. At this post the pursuers obtained the assistance of two men of the Cape Mounted Rifles, being all the help that could be afforded, a party of men having just previously been sent off in pursuit of five horses which had been stolen from a farmer named DELPORT, residing in that immediate vicinity. On Saturday these men were still searching the mazes of the Fish River valley, and had separated so as to command a considerable part of the bend above referred to, when shortly after dark they came into collision with the marauders. Four Kaffirs were seen to emerge from the bush, each mounted on a stolen horse, and leading the fifth. On observing the farmers, one of the robbers deliberately presented his gun, and fired with such precision, that the ball struck one of the farmers' horses, within about two inches of the thigh of the rider. The poor animal instantly fell, when the Kaffirs plunged into the thicket and escaped, favoured by the darkness of the night. The next day the farmers proceeded to the military post at Double Drift, where they reported their adventures to the officer commanding, and of whose kindness the poor fellows speak in terms of the warmest gratitude. Here they received the assistance of two more soldiers of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and four of the 91st, with whom they resumed pursuit on the *spoor* of the stolen animals. This was followed across the Fish River, and to a kraal under a petty Chief named DODA, living in the Ceded Territory, and who, it was said, had gone forward in pursuit of the thieves. The farmers have returned, and reported these circumstances to the authorities at Graham's Town, by whom we may conclude immediate steps will be taken to secure them redress.

The sentence in *italics* the reader should keep in mind, as he will see in the sequel how perfectly correct was the opinion formed, both of the Chief's character, and also of his designs in reference to the officer mentioned.

It will excite no wonder that these doings of the Kaffirs, and the comparative indifference of the local authorities, should call forth another warning and remonstrance from the public press. Thus the *Journal* of the day, referring to Kaffirland, remarks:

Here colonization and barbarism are seen as antagonist principles, and it is yet to be decided which shall have the ascendancy. We believe that the issue is by no means uncertain—that the former *must* ultimately prevail; and moreover, that every endeavour of our Government to prevent this will go to aggravate the case, and to render more disastrous all the mischief which there is ostensibly so much anxiety to avert. Our rulers may use all its power to

stave off the onward march of events—in other words, to hinder colonization from spreading in this direction; but futile will be every such effort, and it now therefore rests with them to make their election as to whether the process shall be permitted to take its own course, or whether, by assuming the initiative and laying down suitable safeguards, they will so guide and control it that it may be a blessing and not a curse—a benefit, personal and political, and not a calamity, individually and nationally, to the Natives of the country.

There are many well-meaning persons who cannot separate colonization from flagrant injustice and the destruction of the Natives wherever it spreads. But surely this need not be, and indeed never would be, were sound healthy Government always to accompany the movement. Colonization would then be synonymous with civilization, and the Natives, instead of being depressed or destroyed, would be benefited—would be raised from their wretched grovelling condition, and participate in all the advantages which civilized government is calculated to bestow. It is here where our Government has most miserably erred, and hence the expedients to which it has resorted. We have here the key to the grant of the Ceded Territory to the Kaffir tribes, the payment to the Chiefs of “black-mail,” the timidity in not interfering with any of their hateful customs, the mean submission we have seen so often displayed to their insults, and to their aggressions upon the Colony, and all the other evil consequences which ever result from wavering, timid measures.

The evils of our Frontier policy have struck deep, and there is danger lest in uprooting them we should shake and unsettle our own social fabric. But still the time has arrived to move forward, in doing which much will depend upon the spirit in which the advance shall be made. With justice and humanity as our safeguards, there is little to fear; the mind of a savage can appreciate these, and if in all our arrangements on our Border we never swerve therefrom, then we may confidently go onward; the Natives beyond us will be brought under the humanizing influences of sound Civil Government; enjoy personal security themselves, and become the cheapest and best defence to the Colony.

A few days subsequently to the publication of this, a public meeting of Dutch farmers was held on the place of the Field-cornet, H. J. LOMBAARD, a very respectable old Frontier inhabitant, residing on the Great Fish River, about 20 miles North of Graham's Town. This meeting was numerously attended, and a number of very emphatic resolutions, in reference to the state of the Frontier, were passed unanimously, of which the following will serve as an example:

Resolved,—That it is a notorious fact that Her Majesty's loyal and peaceful subjects residing on the Frontiers of this Colony *are not protected*; that their property is continually exposed to the depredations of the savage Kaffir; and that they stand in daily fear of another Kaffir invasion.

That recent events have proved that *none* of the Kaffir tribes with which the Government has made treaties can be trusted; that they are all combined

in one cause, viz., the *spoliation of the Colony*, and that they are fully prepared to enter the Colony on the first favourable opportunity, with a force which the Government will find it difficult to oppose with the troops now on the Frontier. That the present insecure state of the Frontier demands the most prompt and decided interference of the Government, for never was it in greater danger, nor the Kaffirs better prepared than at present for war, which, in consequence of the great number of horses and guns now in possession of the Kaffirs, would be attended with the most direful scenes of murder, devastation, and bloodshed, and thus overturn the prospects of an industrious people, who, with every desire to be and to remain loyal subjects of Her Majesty, see nothing before them but devastation and ruin, whereby a want of confidence in the Government is induced, and which has already caused a great number of their countrymen and friends to quit the Colony, and prefer the wilderness and the protection of their own arms, rather than expose themselves any longer to such a state of doubt and insecurity.

That believing, as this meeting does, that it is useless to make treaties with barbarous and uncivilized tribes, it is nevertheless of opinion that the recent daring depredations of the Kaffirs are mainly, if not entirely, attributable to the want of some settled principle of action on the part of the Government, and to the continual use of threats which it never intended, nor had the power, to execute. It is a fact that the Border farmers are at this moment placed in a much worse position than they were previous to His Excellency's first visit to the Frontier.

A Petition, founded on these resolutions, was also prepared, adopted, and in due course transmitted to the Local Legislature in Cape Town, the result of which will be seen in the sequel. In this Petition the parties, with almost the accuracy of prescience, thus honestly and faithfully warn the Government :

Memorialists are, and wish to remain, faithful subjects of the British Government. To abandon their homes without making one more earnest appeal for protection to Your Excellency and your honourable Council they feel disinclined. But the depredations of the Kaffirs are unbearable, and in such a state of affairs they cannot remain much longer. They know that the Kaffirs are well supplied with horses and guns ; that they are more *combined*, and better prepared to attack the Colony than they have ever been before ; that they can muster a force which the Government will find it difficult to oppose with the troops at present on the Frontier, and that the lives of the Frontier inhabitants are thus exposed to the greatest danger.

It will be deeply affecting, as well as eminently instructive, here to anticipate the progress of events in reference to this meeting, for the purpose of marking the fate of the self-same individuals who moved and seconded the resolutions agreed to on this occasion. Let it be borne in mind that these persons

stated to the Government, with the emphasis of men who felt the imminency of the danger around them, their conviction that the Kaffirs contemplated an invasion of the Colony. A few short months subsequently the public records give the following mournful catalogue of the disasters by which the whole, in spite of every effort, had been overtaken. Some of them, it will be seen, perished in the fearful struggle :

1st Resolution, moved by WALTER CURRIE, Esq.—House burnt ; almost all his stock taken ; furniture destroyed.

Seconded by O. NEL, Esq.—House burnt ; all his stock taken.

2nd Resolution, moved by J. H. DELPORT.—House burnt ; stock taken ; totally ruined.

Seconded by J. H. BOSCH.—House burnt ; stock taken ; totally ruined.

3rd Resolution, moved by J. D. NEL.—House burnt ; wife died from exposure to cold ; property totally destroyed.

Seconded by GERT ELS.—House burnt ; property destroyed.

4th Resolution, moved by RENIER ELS.—House burnt ; stock taken.

Seconded by C. BOTHA.—House burnt ; all his property taken at Riebeek ; wounded through the body, and his life despaired of.

5th Resolution, moved by ELIAS NEL.—Shot dead by Kaffirs ; house burnt ; sheep taken ; widow reduced to poverty.

Seconded by CHRISTIAN NEL.—Shot dead by Kaffirs ; all his property destroyed.

6th Resolution, moved by P. C. BEZUIDENHOUT.—Lost upwards of 7,000 valuable woolled sheep, 300 head of cattle, and 37 horses ; house burnt ; totally ruined.

Seconded by GERT MYNHARDT, a most respectable young man.—Lost his property when the Kaffirs took 10,000 sheep from BEZUIDENHOUT'S camp ; he has not a penny left ; reduced to absolute destitution.

The Field-cornet (LOMBAARD), at whose house this meeting was held, died from the joint effects of fatigue, exposure, and sorrow a few months after the first outbreak of the Kaffirs, and while a fugitive in the field with his plundered countrymen. Such was the deplorable ruin which speedily overtook these unfortunate men. The brief period of six months had scarcely elapsed ere several of them were found numbered amongst the victims of a vicious maudlin Frontier policy, introduced in the name of humanity, supported by chicanery, by a perversion of the plainest maxims of prudence and common sense, and

continued in utter contempt of the reproaches, the sufferings, and the prayers of the Frontier inhabitants.

That such are the unquestionable facts of the case may be proved by a voluminous mass of unquestionable evidence, which will doubtless hereafter be subjected to such searching scrutiny, as will fully, by laying bare the whole subject, convince the world of the folly as well as of the *expensive* character of those ideas which have been entertained in reference to the Native tribes on the Eastern Frontier of this Colony, and also to the intercourse between them and the hardy pioneers of colonization in their immediate neighbourhood.

As an example of the distinctness with which the calamities impending over the Colony were seen at this time, the following extract from a speech delivered by one of the speakers at this meeting, viz., Mr. R. J. PAINTER, then an extensive flock master and large landed proprietor, will abundantly suffice :

I very much fear that we are doomed to experience ANOTHER KAFFIR WAR, and I can assure you that I shudder at the bare idea, when I recollect the scenes I witnessed in the last war. I fear the loss of life will be very, very great. The Kaffirs are a different people to what they were in 1834. I feel persuaded that where they possessed ONE GUN then, they have ONE HUNDRED NOW. Very few of them were mounted then, NOW VAST NUMBERS ARE WELL MOUNTED. In fine, their means and facilities are now such that they will be able to overrun the country to a great extent, and do a vast deal of mischief, before it will be possible for the troops to have time to arrest their progress. It is distressing to have such a gloomy picture in prospect, but however we may deprecate the realization of it, my opinion is that unless a superintending and overruling Providence prevents it, ANOTHER KAFFIR WAR is inevitable.

This warning was treated with the same indifference as all that had preceded it. A thick veil of delusion was spread over the minds of the authorities, which was only torn aside by the rude hand of the savage as he rushed upon the defenceless, unoffending Colonists, and laid waste the country.

CHAPTER XVI.

DISCUSSION IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—SPEECHES OF
COLONIAL SECRETARY AND ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Jan. 23, 1847.

THE irritation which was evident at this period (July, 1843), as detailed in our last, was well calculated to excite the most anxious attention of the local authorities, but who still, unfortunately for the Colonists, were determined to act upon the soothing system—to use palliatives rather than apply with determination an incisive remedy to the rapidly-spreading evil. The true position of the Border farmers may be aptly illustrated by the following statement of Mr. H. PEDLAR, an old resident on the Frontier, an Englishman held in great respect by the whole neighbourhood around him. After detailing some recent losses, he observes :

It is quite impossible that I or any other farmer can stand such severe losses, and unless something be done to save us from them, we must abandon our farms, and seek some position where there is more security for life and property. But surely our Governor will not leave us without doing something for our relief, punishing the marauders, or affording us recompense for our losses. I have been a very great sufferer by these incorrigible thieves. Since the subversion of Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN'S system, I have been plundered by Kaffirs of 186 oxen, 43 cows, and 29 horses, to which I am ready to make oath if required. For these losses I received compensation at Fort Brown for 31 oxen, leaving me still minus 155 oxen, besides the cows and horses stated.

On the 5th September a public meeting of the Kaga farmers was held in that division, at which the following resolution was unanimously passed :

That this meeting records with the deepest regret that life and property on this Frontier are in a most insecure and dangerous position, from the growing and unrestrained audacity of the savage Kaffir hordes, whom they know to be a remorseless and unpitied enemy, NOW armed and equipped in a most efficient manner. The horses and cattle of Frontier farmers can no

longer be considered as property, subject as they are to their constant plunderings; but this sinks into insignificance when it is both known and felt that the homes and families of the Frontier farmers may be overwhelmed in a moment by a devastating incursion of these unreclaimed barbarians, whose rapacity and cruelty, like a mine, need but the slightest spark to ignite them.

In a Petition to the Legislative Council, adopted on this occasion, the petitioners remark :

Your petitioners fear that ill-judged leniency has raised the audacious impudence of Kaffirs to such a degree that nothing short of the conquest of their hordes will again induce them to look upon our Government with any degree of respect; yet war with such a people is a state of things your petitioners dread, and are most anxious to see averted. They pray Your Excellency and honourable Council to give the state of the Frontier your most deep and serious consideration.

Your petitioners believe that savage hordes are quite incapable of appreciating treaties. Fear—the awe inspired by physical power—and the certainty that all aggressions would be punished with a high hand, are the only modes of restraining them; and your petitioners believe that the most stringent measures, acted up to most unflinchingly, are the most consistent with the laws of humanity, and would be attended with the most beneficial results to both Kaffirs and Colonists.

At this period, also the Kaffirs showed a disposition to attack the traders residing in their country—generally a sure presage of intended attack upon the Colony. Thus the public records of the period (October, 1845) narrate the following :

A trader, named NEWTH, has been severely wounded by a Kaffir on a drift of the Keiskamma, called Bush Kraal, a few miles from Fort Peddie. It appears that the wounded man was in charge of a wagon belonging to Messrs. HOOLE, in whose employ he is, and that he had outspanned last Thursday night by the road side, at the point stated. Hearing a noise amongst the oxen, he got up to ascertain the cause, and had only proceeded a few paces when a Kaffir exclaimed, in his own tongue, "Stab him!" At the same moment a murderous thrust was made at him with an assegai. The blade passed through the double folds of the breast of his jacket, struck upon the fore part of the upper rib, and from thence took an oblique direction downwards. The Kaffirs, under cover of night, escaped, and the wounded man was conveyed as speedily as possible to Fort Peddie, where he now lies in a precarious state, every attention being paid to him by the military surgeon on that post.

The traders generally express great apprehension as to the designs of the Kaffirs. An old trader in the employ of Messrs. HOOLE has given them notice to quit, on the ground that all the proceedings of the Kaffirs indicate, in his opinion, another serious outbreak. These opinions, coupled with the frequent

outrageous conduct of the Kaffirs towards the Colonists, call upon our Government for more than ordinary firmness and caution.

At the same time the following significant warning is recorded :

MACOMO'S son made a few days ago a proposition to a mechanic at Fort Beaufort to barter with him oxen for guns. The ingenious device proposed was, that an ox was to be fastened to a certain bush, and that on taking it away a gun was to be left in its place. This subject may be worthy the careful consideration of our Frontier authorities, and may convince them that the Kaffirs are awake, however *they* may shut their eyes to passing occurrences.

It was at this period that the Petitions of the Frontier inhabitants were introduced into the Legislative Council by the Honourable Mr. EBDEN ; and it is only due to the Executive officers of Government to say that these important documents were received with courtesy and treated with an attention alike grateful to the Colonists, and creditable to the parties. The Local Government felt itself, in fact, put upon its defence, and accordingly we find recorded the most elaborate speeches in support of the Government, by the Secretary to Government and the Attorney-General, that were made during the whole of the session. The object of these speeches was to magnify the zeal of the authorities in suppressing the aggressions of the Kaffirs, and to reduce the complaints of the Colonists in the same ratio. The following extracts from these rather celebrated speeches will serve as examples of the tone assumed on this occasion :

SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.—*Your Excellency (who was then presiding at the Council) is ready to make every possible allowance for the feelings and sufferings of the Frontier farmers. You commiserate them deeply ; you are fully sensible of the annoyances, the losses, and the dangers to which they are so often exposed. You do not desire to exculpate the Kaffirs from any of their misdeeds, and you are most solicitous of relieving the farmers from depredations, and the state of insecurity they live under. You do not set yourself in opposition to them because they petition for redress, nor do you object to their representations against your measures on your own account. It is on their account you regret to perceive that their statements are overcharged, and that their allegations will not bear the test of close scrutiny.*
* * * It is not wished to underrate one particle of the sufferings the Colonists have to endure, nor to consider that they intentionally exaggerate or mis-state. *The misfortune, Sir, is that they hear but one side of the case. There seems too much disposition to hastily to circulate reports of Kaffir*

depredations, without taking sufficient pains to ascertain the truth. They are thus sent out among the Colonists, who do not see the contradictions, or what may be urged on the part of the Kaffirs, and unfortunately the contradiction of an unfounded report is not always to be found in the medium which circulated the error. By these, and such means as these, *the minds of the Frontier farmers have become "wax to receive and marble to retain" everything that makes against the Kaffirs.* The reports given out are all received as facts, and believed without hesitation. I have no doubt, Sir, that this process has led, not only to much of the feeling of insecurity that exists on the Frontier, but to dissatisfaction against the Government for not taking measures to prevent the injuries complained of. The petitioners complain that the resources of the Border cannot be developed, and that its prosperity is retarded while this state of insecurity continues; and no doubt it must be so. A feeling of insecurity, whether well or ill-grounded, must have that effect; and so long as they continue to believe all they hear against the Kaffirs, and are kept in ignorance of the contradiction of false reports, this feeling will continue and increase.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—I look at these Petitions, and I see that in one place the condition of the Frontier Colonists is described as "*unbearable*," and that in another place their sufferings are called "*frightful*;" and when I say, in reference to these strong terms, that their condition *is not* altogether unbearable, and that *frightful* is much *too strong* a word, that the depredations are not so and so, I am set down as disregarding the complaints of Her Majesty's subjects, and as wholly wanting in sympathy for their situation. Sir, so far as their complaints are just and reasonable, they have my fullest sympathy. They have my sympathy the more, because I know that, whatever may have been the case in past times, our Frontier Colonists, considered as a body—nay, even considered individually—are now, and long have been, guiltless of provoking by aggression the aggressions from which they suffer. And, *without admitting the correctness of strong statements, and while allowing much for colouring* in the glowing pictures of distress which are from time to time presented, I do not hesitate to say, with the Secretary to Government, that when every deduction has been made, and the evil is brought down to its true magnitude, it is one of a nature calculated seriously to retard the prosperity of the Frontier. * * * I say once again, that I admit the existence of serious evils on the Frontier, and sympathise with those who suffer them; *but I must still believe that, however bad things may be, they are in a course of progress to what is better, and not to what is worse*; that what are sometimes prescribed as cures would but aggravate the disease; *that the present policy is in its great principles the best policy for our people.* My advice, therefore, here and elsewhere, to Your Excellency, is to avoid extremities as long as you can properly avoid them; to bear in mind that all improvement is necessarily the work of time; to give your policy a fair and full trial, and not be discouraged because it cannot achieve impossibilities; but at the same time to cause the Chiefs to understand that forbearance has, after all, its limits; that bad faith will in the end surely meet its punishment; and that you will know how to act if at length they force the alternative to be whether they are to behave themselves, or be—DESTROYED.

The following will very clearly show the spirit of the local *Journal* in dealing with these proceedings:

What the Colonists require is, that the Government should act up to its own professions; that "while it admits the existence of aggravated evils on the Frontier," it will use the power it possesses in lessening the number, and in reducing those which it may not be able entirely to remove, to the smallest possible compass. We are constrained also to remark in passing, that while those who direct our affairs are thus coolly *talking* upon the subject at a distance of 700 miles, our farmers are *suffering*—murder is perpetrated, robberies are committed, and a member of the community is shot, who, if he survive, will probably be rendered a cripple for life, while endeavouring to rescue his property from the hands of those restless, dishonest people, for whom so much public sympathy is enlisted. * * * *

We are constantly increasing the power of the Kaffirs, without furnishing any safe-guards against their employing it to the detriment of the Colony.

Our rulers evidently see the danger, but they hope for the best, and they tell very distinctly what *will be* done should that hope be disappointed. They utter "words of dark portent"—allude mysteriously to the destruction of the Kaffirs; but they seem quite to overlook the fact, *that to induce so terrible a catastrophe, the Frontier farmers must first be swept away, and the country be again laid waste from the sea to the Orange River.* The Border inhabitants have no desire, however, for any such posthumous fame; their wish is to live in peace, and to be excused the honour of martyrdom to any of the pretty Utopian theories of the Colonial Government of the present day. * * *

The calm tone of moderation that is observed, and the high sense of justice that is maintained, are alike creditable to the Government and honourable to the Colony at large. Still, we are not without fear lest this very becoming temper, and the enunciation of these cardinal principles, should not in themselves be more dangerous to the Colonists than had more vehement opposition been offered, and a more extreme course been pursued. The sudden hush of the blast is often the precursor of the furious storm—the hollow truce, of the raging battle. In the same manner the smooth complacent language of our rulers, while dwelling on our Frontier affairs, and on the characters of the Kaffir tribes, is well calculated to awaken the fears of the Frontier inhabitants, who know the Kaffirs too well to be imposed upon, to a conviction that their situation is not understood; that those to whom they look for protection are crying "peace! peace! while there is no peace;" and that thus sudden destruction may overwhelm them, purely from the absence of those prompt, decided measures which, in dealing with crafty rapacious robber hordes like the Kaffirs, are absolutely indispensable, whether to reclaim them from their evil practices, or to protect their peaceable neighbours from their incessant aggressions, and from their treacherous machinations. * * *

It should be widely and clearly known that the Frontier inhabitants do not desire, still less recommend, extreme measures. They shudder at the idea of a war of extermination, and they are most anxious that those measures should be adopted and steadily pursued, which shall effectually prevent so fearful a catastrophe. The Honourable Attorney-General stated that his advice to the head of the Executive was, to cause the Chiefs to understand that

forbearance has its limits, and that they have to make their election as to whether they preserve good faith, or be—*destroyed*. Now, it is this latter calamity that the people of this Frontier are most anxious to avoid, and which renders so unpalatable to them the word “concession,” in the speech of Mr. Advocate CLOETE. Nothing can be more fatal to a good understanding with Native tribes than concession. They ever presume upon it, and hence it serves as one of the most powerful conductors to that catastrophe which is so darkly alluded to by Mr. PORTER, as the possible result of the existing policy.

It appears marvellously strange to us that the Government, and others who have given opinions upon our Frontier system, have never entertained the feasibility of a middle course—one which, while it places proper restraint upon the Kaffir, will at the same time raise him in the scale of being—teaching him that it is to his interest to be honest; convincing him that the friendship of the white man is worth securing, and that he has a common motive with him in preserving unbroken the peace of the country, and in maintaining *intact* those amicable relations which will be his best security, and conduce most effectually to his own personal advantage.

We do not believe that this happy result will ever be obtained by adhering to the “*let alone*” system. It may sound very well as a theory, but in practice it will be found alike delusive and dangerous. It may be, and has been, argued that we have no business to interfere with a people like the Kaffirs; *that they have as much right to enjoy* their customs as we have ours; and that to attempt to interfere or coerce them is unjust in itself, and unwarrantable by the nature of the case. We deny the tenability of any such position. The law of Nature, which is the law of common sense, no less than the law of nations, warrants opposition to everything that is destructive to human society, or calculated to disturb the peace or injure the persons or property of the well disposed. The right and the duty are clear, but the amount and character of the opposition must ever be regulated by good policy and the circumstances of the case. Herein consists the skill of the Statesman, as well as the great difficulty which lies before those who manage the affairs of this country. At present they appear disposed to leave a great deal to the “chapter of accidents;” they evidently look for some moral miracle; but *let them take care that they are not roused from this delusion by the war-yell of the savage*, and the sudden annihilation of all such flattering hopes in the good feeling and peaceable dispositions of those with whom we have to do. * * *

A great deal too much is made of the Kaffirs in one point of view, and too little in another. Direct our Government to any onward movement, and there is ever “a lion in the way;” difficulties innumerable are immediately presented; but most of these are the mere phantoms of the imagination, and would vanish were we only to take courage to look them in the face, and would we but throw away the bugbears of our own creation. The Kaffirs are not so untractable as our Government believe them to be; but we trifle with them as though they were children; no wonder, therefore, they should display the mischievous temper and waywardness of such when so treated. They know well how to appreciate a firm hand and a bold heart; they are neither insensible nor indifferent to their own interests; and it may be depended on that, with Justice as our guide, the Kaffir tribes, instead of being a scourge to the Colony, may be raised to the condition of good neighbours, happy in them-

selves, secure in the enjoyment of their property, and contributors to that intellectual and moral good, the result of education and good government, which may be considered as the common stock of the great family of man.

A debate in the Legislative Council in Cape Town was not, however, very likely to cause any cessation of robbery or violence on the Frontier, 700 miles distant, and accordingly the following atrocities are recorded among the current events of the day :

The Kaffirs having stolen four horses in the "Dry Spruit" of the Koonap, belonging to HENDRICK VAN VUUREN, five farmers went off in pursuit. The marauders on being closely pursued, and finding that one horse was restive, shot the animal dead, and then concealed themselves in a deep gully. On the farmers coming up to the spot, they fired on them, and unfortunately struck VAN VUUREN. The firing was returned, and kept up by the farmers until they heard no more. They then brought away their wounded companion, and captured two horses, the Kaffirs, however, getting off with the others. All these Kaffirs are stated to have been armed with guns. The wound of VAN VUUREN is very dangerous. The ball entered just below the elbow, took a direction upwards, passed through the large muscle, and came out just below the socket of the shoulder, shattering and carrying away the arm-bone. At the time the foregoing was written, the father of the wounded man was at Fort Beaufort in a state of the most pitiable distress.

A notable illustration of the "do-nothing" system in vogue on the Frontier at this period was afforded in the case of two of the Frontier inhabitants, which is thus recorded by the local press :

Messrs. ULYATE and HATTON were stopped by a party of Kaffirs while proceeding from Fort Beaufort to Post Victoria, one of them being dragged from his horse, and both stripped and plundered by the marauders. The parties, failing to obtain redress here for this flagrant outrage, were induced to apply to the Government in Cape Town, but with what success will appear on reference to the official reply given below :

Reply.

"Memorialists are informed that the Governor, having enquired into their complaint, regrets that under the circumstances of the case he can afford them no relief.

"By His Excellency's command,

"JOHN MONTAGU.

"Colonial Office, Cape Town, 24th October, 1845."

This imbecility in the Local Executive produced its legitimate fruits, as will be seen from the following, published in the local

Journal, only three weeks subsequently. The account is given by the Rev. W. J. DAVIS, resident at D'Urban, near Fort Peddie :

In much haste and great distress I send you an account of an affair of the most painful nature, which occurred in this neighbourhood last night. Three newly-arrived German Missionaries, of the Berlin Society's Mission, reached the top of the Fish River heights, about 7 miles from Fort Peddie, with three wagons, on their way to join their brethren in Kaffirland. They retired to rest in their wagons, and the men in charge lay down by the fires as usual near the wagons. All were at peace until about 2 o'clock this morning, when the men by the fires were alarmed by the barking and baying of the dogs. They thought, as the dogs ran towards a small clump of bushes adjacent, that a wolf or some beast of prey was near, and two of the men proceeded towards the spot, when suddenly a rush was made on them by three or four Kaffirs, who stabbed them with their assegais. The two men instantly retreated towards the fire, where lay two other men. Their assailants followed them, and one of the men had an assegai thrust at his chest, which he parried by the bough of a tree, behind which he had taken refuge. At the same time one of the men, who was lying near the fire, endeavoured to escape, but was struck by an assegai in the back. He called out for assistance, and the Missionaries, hearing the noise, two of them leaped out of the wagon to ascertain its cause. Instantly one of them received a severe wound in the abdomen, and the other retreated into the wagon. An attack was then made on the other wagon, in which were sleeping two of Mr. TAINTON'S sons, to whom the wagons belonged. The Kaffirs tore off the front flap of the wagon, and almost at the same instant mounted the wagon behind, taking away a large coat from under the head of TAINTON, jun., and a counterpane by which he was covered. Mr. TAINTON'S two sons then sprang out of the wagon, and ran round the thick bush to alarm the people of some other wagons, who were near at hand, and obtained their help. On their arrival at the wagons the Kaffirs had already disappeared, and were not seen again. * * * * *

The man who was stabbed was found about ten yards from the wagon, dead ; he had ran to the jungle to hide himself, where he was found dead with his clasp knife open in his hand, with which he had doubtless endeavoured to defend himself. The Missionary was yet alive, but appeared in a very dangerous state. Arrangements were immediately made to remove him to the Mission Station of D'Urban, and the doctor remained with the wagons to render any assistance which might be necessary on the road. The wagons proceeded, but had not travelled far, when he was found to be in a dying state. He called his brethren, bade them farewell, and resigned his spirit into the hands of Him who thus called him early to his great reward, but who "giveth no account of his matters to mortals."

The name of the Missionary who is murdered is ERNST SCHOLTZ, and the other man murdered is Mr. SHEPSTONE'S own servant.

This daring and atrocious outrage again aroused the Lieut.-Governor. He proceeded to Fort Peddie, where he called

before him the Chief PATO, and roundly taxed him with being the instigator, if not the perpetrator, of the savage murder. The records of the day state in reference to this meeting :

The Lieutenant-Governor told them that the Government viewed the crime with great indignation, and were determined to have the actual perpetrators of it delivered up to justice, or take such steps as should cause condign punishment to visit the tribe where the murderers resided. He said he knew, from evidence which he had received, that the culprit was well known to the Kaffirs themselves, inasmuch as the Hottentot killed was an intended victim ; and that unless he were forthcoming he would denounce to all the other Kaffir Chiefs the tribe where the offender resided ; and that from the spot on which he then stood he would despatch messengers to every Chief in Kaffirland, not only to inform them of the murder committed, and of his indignation at the same, but call upon them to unite in causing the murderer, to be produced, or in punishing the tribe to which he belonged.

That the genuineness of the determination thus displayed was distrusted by the Colonists is evident from the following emphatic sentence which closes the account of the proceedings. After expressing a hope that he will act up unflinchingly to his declarations, it is remarked :

This he must do, or these steps which he has taken, so proper in themselves, will, if followed by vacillation of purpose, only tend to evil, and that of no ordinary character.

What made this case the more important and alarming was the conviction that the unfortunate Missionary murdered was mistaken for the British Resident Agent SHEPSTONE, who had previously received intimation that his life was in danger. This fact is thus mentioned in the local *Journal* at the time. Referring to Mr. SHEPSTONE, the account states :

He had been forewarned of the existence of this spirit of revenge, and aware of the unscrupulous character of the Kaffirs in carrying out a point on which they had resolved, had requested of the Government to be removed—his recent appointment to Natal being the result of such application. At the time of the murder, Mr. SHEPSTONE was not known to have returned home, and in fact had only reached his dwelling the day previous from Graham's Town. His own servant was with the wagons used for the conveyance of the murdered man and his companions, and was killed in the first instance, as he lay outstretched alongside of his night fire.

Unfortunately the fears entertained of the want of determination in the Local Executive, in dealing with the perpetrators of this deed of blood, were but too well founded. *The Kaffirs* were permitted to stave off the enquiry, excuse after excuse was made, and accepted with an infatuation peculiar to *the feeble hands* to whom were entrusted the reins of power on this exposed and dangerous Frontier. The year 1845 closed upon the Colony amidst gloom, commotion, and distrust. Four months afterwards the Kaffir tribes were in arms, the British troops were for a time paralyzed—the Frontier farmers, from the sea to the Kaga, were driven from their peaceful homes, their dwellings fired, and their flocks and herds scattered to the winds!

CHAPTER XVII.

PORTENTS OF THE APPROACHING STORM.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Feb. 7, 1847.

THE year 1846 opened upon the Frontier inhabitants under an aspect which, in reference to the Kaffir tribes, was well calculated to excite intense anxiety. Irrespective of the aggressions of these people, the circumstances of the Colonists were in a state of rapid improvement. Their flocks of fine-woolled sheep were rapidly on the increase; improved methods were resorted to of preparing this valuable export for the London market; the general trade of the country was materially augmenting; landed property, in general, was attaining enhanced value; and educational and other moral and religious projects were entertained and supported with a zeal which gave promise that the Settlement was fast advancing towards high, substantial prosperity. Nothing but adequate protection was wanting to secure this; but this, unfortunately, the Colonists did not receive. Every day, on the contrary, brought them very plainly nearer to a crisis. They saw their danger; they implored the Government to avert it; but all was in vain; the storm rolled steadily forward until it burst upon them, and involved both them and the Government in one common disaster!

The month of January was not permitted to pass over without being marked by numerous outrages by the Kaffirs upon the Border farmers, all confirming the impression that the Colony was approaching a serious crisis. The following, taken from the local *Journal*, will suffice to show the state of affairs at this period:

Lange, 6th January, 1846.

On the last day of last year, the Kaffirs robbed me of 20 head of my best cattle. They took advantage just as a heavy shower of rain was coming on

to drive them from the flock, which I had visited not an hour before, and not a mile from my house. The rain was so heavy that I was not able to follow the spoor more than two miles towards the junction of the Fish and Kat Rivers. The following day I went to Victoria, and reported the case to Col. SOMERSET, who gave me a policeman, but we could not make out the spoor. The patrols from Botha's Post were as unsuccessful as ourselves. I must now make up my mind to lose them unless I get into my saddle and ride over Kaffirland in search of them; but not having too many horses, from the constant depredations of our friends, and being unable to purchase, having so long and often suffered losses, I must now wait till some kind-hearted Kaffir comes and tells me where they are likely to be found, in which case I shall have to apply to the Agents for leave to go, and in reply probably be told that the treaties of 1836 are still in full force, and that the cattle were legally stolen, and the Kaffirs entitled to them. The treaties of 1836 were thought to have been done away with, but the subjoined letter proves the contrary: On the 27th November the Kaffirs attacked my kraal at night, and took away 13 head of cattle. On hearing them I ran after them, and fired at them, and they relinquished 10, which I got back. The following morning I traced the three to Botha's Post, where I got a patrol, who followed the spoor to the Kaffirland side of the Kat River. The Kaffirs were sent for, but as two wagons had passed over the spoor (a good excuse for them) they would not have anything to do with it. I went then to Col. SOMERSET, and reported the case to him. Two days following my 3 head of cattle were seen close to Victoria among the Kaffir cattle. Lieut. O'REILLY sent for me; we went and found my cattle feeding with 3 head of Kaffir cattle, which were taken to Victoria to try and find out to whose kraal they belonged, that compensation might be claimed. The Kaffir cattle were not long before being owned; but of course they knew nothing of *my* cattle. I have ridden twice to Mr. STRETCH to the Tyumie, needlessly knocking up my horses, as I find. The first time he told me he would enquire into the case, but that I was entitled to compensation, as the cattle were found in Kaffirland, and TOLA must pay. The second time he tells me I must wait his return from town, where he would lay the case before the Lieutenant-Governor, and hear his decision. I have now made up my mind, with many others, that it is useless to report cases, and as to try and trace cattle or horses over the boundary is as hopeless as reporting, as now all the Kaffirs have to do is to argue the case, when it is sure to be decided in their favour. Yesterday my herd was driven from the cattle by Kaffirs, and told he would yet be caught—a nice prospect for cattle and horse farmers!

I am, &c.,

BAREND ERASMUS.

[Copy.]

Tyumie Residency, Kaffraria,

30th December, 1845.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 24th instant, and in reply I beg to state, the documents in reference to your loss of 3 head of cattle have been submitted to the notice of Government, and under the circumstances of the

case, particularly as the treaties of 1836 are still in force, there will be no compensation awarded to you ; but should the Officer Commanding at Botha's Post be satisfied the party from whom the Kaffir cattle were taken are the delinquents, you will have no difficulty in recovering damage by the Kaffir law.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

C. LENNOX STRETCH.

Mr. BAREND ERASMUS, Botha's Post.

A few days subsequent to this 17 head of cattle were taken from the farm of Mr. PHILLIPS, at Blue Krantz, but which were recaptured in a deep Kloof in WILSON's Party, one ox being found killed. About the same time the kraal of Mr. MANDY, of Lushington Valley, was forced, and 70 head of cattle driven off, but these were also, with the exception of three, wrested from the hands of the restless marauders, after a severe pursuit through the dense jungle as far as a drift of the Fish River. The public press also records :

An affray between some Hottentots and several Kaffirs, on the Dry Spruit of the Konap, in which two of the Hottentots were wounded. The attack was made by Kaffirs about midnight, and they succeeded in getting off with several blankets. One of the Hottentots, we are informed, was severely wounded in the arm.

At this period preparations were made for the erection of a military post at Block Drift, a spot of ground immediately within the Kaffir country, but which, nevertheless, the Chief SANDILLI had agreed might be occupied by the British authorities for the purpose stated. Notwithstanding this, however, on this ground being taken possession of, determined opposition was at once made to the progress of the work, the character of which is thus narrated :

The local authorities from the outset do not seem to have been aware of the objections raised by the Kaffirs to the ground at Block Drift being used for the purpose of a military post ; still less of the determined and even formidable resistance they were prepared to make to any such occupation. Under these circumstances, it is only by good fortune that Capt. SCOTT, with a detachment of 50 men of the 91st Regiment, who were employed as a covering party to the Engineers, while engaged in marking out the lines of the intended fort and encampment, made good his retreat from the immediate scene of danger. He, finding at the close of the day that the thickets around

him were lined with Kaffirs, and whose war whistle was heard in numerous directions, wisely drew off his men to a more defensible position, and thus probably saved his whole party from destruction—from being *New Zealandized*.

This refractory and determined spirit induced the Lieutenant-Governor again to repair to the scene of commotion, and is thus referred to by the local *Journal* :

In consequence of a Despatch received on Sunday by the Lieutenant-Governor from the Frontier, a detachment of of 80 men of the 91st Regiment were marched from Graham's Town on Monday morning, at 4 o'clock, to Post Victoria; while Mr. W. SHEPSTONE, the Kaffir Interpreter at Fort Peddie, received orders at midnight on Sunday to proceed immediately to his post. The cause of this is said to consist in some threatening demonstration on the part of the Gaika Kaffirs, and in an expressed determination not to suffer the establishment of a military post on a site which has been selected for that purpose near Block Drift. There is some doubt, it appears, as to whether this spot is not within the Kaffir boundary, and rumour says that the Chief SANDILLI has declared he will resist by force of arms any attempt on the part of our Government to occupy it, thus making the question a sort of New Zealand affair, and it will be for our Government to take care that it does not lead to the same disgraceful and disastrous results as in that Settlement.

In the meantime, this refractory and unprincipled Kaffir has not scrupled to show his contempt of British authority, by an open breach of the 11th clause of the treaty recently made by him with the Executive Government of the Colony, and by which he engages that all British subjects residing in Kaffirland for the purposes of trade shall be protected in their persons and properties. For it appears that on Saturday last SANDILLI forcibly entered the stores of Messrs. HOOLE, near the Chumie, plundered them of several bridles and other articles, and severely maltreated, by beating with a kerrie or knobbed stick, the trader in charge, an Englishman named MURRAY, who endeavoured to resist this act of open audacious spoliation. It remains now to be seen whether this contemptuous act of aggression will, as in other instances, be tamely submitted to, and whether the honour of the British name and the safety of this Settlement are to be compromised by quailing to the menaces and submitting to the outrages of savages, who have been made formidable by our forbearance, and by whom our kindness has been interpreted as fear, our humanity as weakness, and our demonstrations as absurd impotent braggadocia.

The proceedings at this meeting of the Lieutenant-Governor and the British troops on the one hand, and the Chief SANDILLI and the Kaffirs subject to him on the other, are described as follows :

At 6 o'clock this morning (29th January) three of the 7th Dragoon Guards, and a strong party of the 91st Regiment, left Fort Beaufort for Block Drift, leaving in garrison only 60 men of the 7th Dragoon Guards, and 100

men of the 91st Regiment. The Lieutenant-Governor followed shortly after with an escort of 8 mounted men and a sergeant (five of the 7th Dragoon Guards and four Cape Mounted Riflemen) on his way to the same place. *It seems that the Kaffirs have mustered in that neighbourhood in considerable force, a large number of them being armed with guns, and well supplied with ammunition.*

The meeting between the Lieutenant-Governor and SANDILLI was of a very warlike character. His Honour had assembled a rather imposing force; but the array was fully equalled, or rather exceeded, by the Kaffir Chief, who is said to have mustered little short of 4,000 horsemen, chiefly armed with guns, and in admirable training. The wily Kaffir appeared to be carefully on his guard; and thus when our troops were ordered to extend their line, the movement was immediately followed by the Kaffirs, who, by their superior numbers, soon outflanked the British troops. The conference was brief, but to the Lieutenant-Governor it is said to have been satisfactory. SANDILLI admitted that he had used intemperate language, and that he regretted having done so, but that he claimed the ground on which it was proposed to erect the military post, and felt aggrieved that it should be taken possession of without his consent. The Lieutenant-Governor promised that this matter should be carefully considered, and everything done in strict accordance with the principles of equity. * * * * *

It is admitted on all hands that the bearing of the Kaffirs was most insulting, and the language of some of the assembled Chiefs violent and insufferably aggravating. The break up of the assemblage was a scene of savage uproar, during which several *shots* were daringly fired at or towards our troops, as though indicative of their contempt for vaunted British prowess, or by way of derision of the parade by which an attempt had been made to awe or dazzle them.

The Kaffirs have been in a state of considerable excitement, and at the date of the accounts were ripe for mischief. The cattle in the kraals near the Colonial Border have been driven to places of security, and the men assembled in large bodies, but who do not appear to be agreed among themselves as to the expediency, at this season, of an open rupture. It is also stated that there is no doubt of the spot on which it is proposed to establish a military post at Block Drift being within the Kaffirland boundary. It lies in the fork of the Keiskamma and Chumie Rivers, and there appears to be little doubt but that the Kaffirs are warranted in making objection to its occupation for the purpose in question. It is not very transparent why a military post should be established on debateable ground, when, by keeping on the right bank of the Chumie, a very short distance to the West, all cause of dispute would be entirely avoided. By removing a little lower down we might again re-occupy Fort Willshire, once the finest military post on this Frontier, and and which, shortly after an expenditure on it by the British Government of upwards of £5,000, was shamefully abandoned to the repacious Kaffirs in that neighbourhood. Such is the fast and loose system which has been displayed in this country, and which has brought matters to the pass we now find them. At present recourse is had to "the soothing system." The Kaffirs must not be irritated; when they do wrong punishment is not to be thought of; they are to be coaxed to confess their faults; and the most broad and liberal

interpretation is to be given to the slightest concession or admission which may be made by them. Who does not perceive that all this absurd trifling tends to produce the very crisis which it is intended to avert. It is, in fact, merely staving off the evil day, but only that it may come upon the Colony with tenfold effect. The Kaffirs are every day acquiring additional power to do mischief, and unless this be counteracted by some decisive measure on our part, *we now warn the Government* that the consequence will be fatal to the repose, if not to the very existence, of the Eastern Districts.

The feverish state of affairs on the Frontier at this period are accurately set forth in the following statement, published in the local *Journal* of the day :

A restlessness on the part of the Kaffirs for the previous month had been observed, was the more extraordinary, as nothing had occurred to occasion it, except it were the tame submission of the Government to the murder of the Missionary SCHOLTZ, which had emboldened them to adopt offensive taunts and threatenings : it was evident that SANDILLI had been detached from the line of policy by the counsels of his mother SUTU—an adherence to which has hitherto preserved him and his people.

On the 24th ultimo a messenger was despatched by the Diplomatic Agent at Block Drift, requesting that three cases of aggression by the Kaffirs might be immediately determined by the Chiefs. These were :

1st. The robbery of Messrs. HOOLE'S store on the Gwalia, and assault on the trader in charge of it, who had never given the slightest cause for the outrage ; SANDILLI having, without any provocation, struck him in the face for not going with him to his store, that he (SANDILLI) might take out what he pleased.

2nd. For having made an attack on the Missionary School under Mr. DÖHNE, and for the seizure of several horses and cattle from one of its inmates.

3rd. For a daring robbery committed by SANDILLI'S people in the Winterberg, and for keeping the farmers, who had traced 27 head of the stolen cattle into his country, waiting several days without affording satisfaction.

The messenger who conveyed these demands returned the same day, after having been menaced with personal violence, with a most abusive message, which it was requested the Diplomatic Agent should convey before he slept that night to the Governor, fully confirming the opinion previously entertained that SANDILLI had joined the war party, of which MACOMO is considered the mainspring. In corroboration of this SANDILLI sent messages to all the Chiefs, "that he was ready for war," and in consequence of this a gathering of the tribes immediately commenced. The next day, however, the Lieut.-Governor sent a message requesting a meeting the following day, for the purpose of affording him an opportunity of explaining his message, and also of withdrawing or apologising for it. His reply was, that he would give His Honour the meeting he requested. Accordingly, on that day early, a squadron of 7th Dragoon Guards, and 100 men of the 91st, with the Lieut.-Governor and Major SMITH, arrived at Block Drift.

The Kaffir Chiefs, however, did not make their appearance till 2 o'clock, at which hour SANDILLI was seen approaching the Residency with a powerful body of his warriors, and a host of inferior Chiefs. By the best computation that could be made, the Kaffir force amounted to at least 5,000, all armed—about 2,000 with guns. Besides the men, there were from 400 to 500 *women*, armed with knobkerries, who posted themselves near the shops and other buildings, for the purpose of plunder. The Kaffirs drew up in a parallel line to the troops, there being about 300 paces between them. The former had, however, taken the precaution to station, on all the roads leading to the spot, bodies of men, to prevent reinforcements from, or any communication with, the Colony. All were evidently intent on, and prepared for mischief, *and one false step would have been the signal for a movement towards the Colony.* The Lieut.-Governor having placed himself in rather an exposed situation, was reminded of the prudence of not confiding in the Kaffirs, and he then removed into the centre of the two lines, requesting SANDILLI to meet him there unarmed, with twenty of his followers. To this he fortunately agreed, and the apology he had previously sent for his violent language was read over, and assented to by him. He wanted, however, to enter into a conference upon the subject. This, however, prudence forbade; the meeting broke up, and the troops marched off. The position of the latter was a most critical one, and it was the opinion of all that a serious crisis was at hand, which would terminate in the ruin of the Kaffir people. It is understood that the authorities have been warned of this for months past, and it is now imperatively requisite that the danger should be looked at fully, and met determinedly. It is the common talk among the Kaffirs that they will drive the troops from Victoria Post, then attack Fort Beaufort and Graham's Town, and not rest until they have driven the white men into the sea at Algoa Bay. This threat is now the echo of the national voice, and it is evident that all the tribes will unite in endeavouring to carry it into effect, nor will the Tambookies be behind this time. Incantations for strength to overcome their enemies are now common in Kaffirland, and in fact everything indicates that the long-cherished design of the Kaffirs to attack the Colony is about to be executed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WAR CRISIS IMMINENT.

From the *Graham's Town Journal*, of Feb. 20, 1847.

THE publication of these alarming accounts caused, as might be expected, a general and powerful sensation along the whole Frontier. Many of the inhabitants immediately abandoned their homes, and fled with their flocks towards the Western districts. At Graham's Town a number of influential persons assembled, and agreed that a deputation from them should at once interview the Lieutenant-Governor, for the purpose of ascertaining from him—the highest official authority in the Province—whether the serious reports which had obtained this wide currency were actually well founded. The character and results of this interview are thus given in the records of the day :

On Saturday afternoon (7th February) a number of the inhabitants of Graham's Town assembled at the Office of the Eastern Province Trust Company, when a deputation was appointed to wait on His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, to ascertain from him the correctness of the published accounts relative to the alarming state of the Frontier. The following minute, made immediately after the interview, gives the accurate substance of the information afforded by His Honour :

“Col. HARE received the deputation very courteously, and assured them that he should always be glad to afford the public every information on such subjects.

“He had no official or positive information of the intention of the Kaffirs to attack the Colony; but the information he had received from the immediate Frontier was of the most alarming character, and such as to induce him to adopt every precaution for the public safety. He had sent out instructions to the Field-cornets to urge the farmers to adopt the best means of defence in their power. Those who were without arms or ammunition could receive supplies from the public stores, either at Fort Beaufort or Graham's Town.

"He was utterly at a loss to know what motives could induce the Kaffirs to meditate an attack on the Colony. They were a crafty and treacherous people, and he felt that they were not to be relied on. He had received information which led him to believe that the Kaffirs contemplated occupying the Addo Bush, with a view of intercepting the communication between Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth, and accordingly he had instructed the Field-cornet at Bushmen's River to call out his burghers to co-operate with the detachment of the 27th Regiment in scouring that bush. His orders to Capt. DURNFORD were, that in case he fell in with any Kaffirs, to treat them as enemies.

"He had that morning despatched orders to Col. SOMERSET, Major SMITH, and Col. RICHARDSON not to wait until attacked, but in case *they were satisfied that the Kaffirs were collecting with the intention of invading the Colony, to act at once on the offensive.*

"He had in a Despatch of that day communicated the position of affairs to His Excellency, and his firm intention of inflicting a heavy blow on the Kaffirs; they had brought it on themselves by their treacherous conduct, and he should not spare them. He would not restrain the Colonists, for it was no more than right that the unprovoked aggressions of the Kaffirs should fall on their own heads. Col. HARE hardly thought that the Kaffirs would be mad enough to attack so considerable a place as Graham's Town, but it was highly necessary that the people should not neglect what he considered but a prudent precaution by arming themselves. Both arms and ammunition would be supplied to the town's people by the Ordnance Department, on giving a receipt.

"He should move every soldier from Graham's Town, in case of anything occurring at the front; so that the defence of the town, in case of attack, would rest with the townspeople. He saw no necessity for throwing up barricades in the streets; all that would be necessary would be to arrange some plan, so that each might know what to do. Drilling he thought might be dispensed with.

"If his recommendations were adopted, he should not move the townspeople under any exigency beyond the suburbs, their duty would be confined to the defence of the town.

"The Fingoes, he thought, might be embodied and armed, and he had no doubt they would prove a useful auxiliary force.

"He strongly advised that a system of patrolling should be kept up about the town.

"His Honour, in reply to a question, said that he had never thought there existed a desire amongst the Frontier people for war with the Kaffirs; that no doubt there were in the Colony, as elsewhere, restless and unruly spirits who desired war; but that such a feeling he believed was quite opposed to the sentiments of the Frontier inhabitants.

"*'In case of an outbreak,'* said Col. HARE, *'the Colonists are entirely innocent of having done anything to cause it, and I shall be ready to take the responsibility of defending them upon myself.'*

"Col. HARE said that he would at once write to the Civil Commissioner, repeating his advice to the people to arm themselves, and offering arms and ammunition to all who would receive them."

Two days subsequently to this, the following notice was published by authority :

NOTICE.

The enclosed copy of a letter from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor is published for general information.

H. HUDSON, Civil Commissioner.

Graham's Town, 9th February, 1846.

SIR,—His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor requests you will assure the inhabitants, both of town and country, that *there is not the slightest cause of alarm*, His Honour having this morning received from all the Chiefs of Kaffirland the most satisfactory assurances of their desire and determination to maintain peace and tranquility amongst their people.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

H. HUDSON, jun., Acting Secretary.

The Civil Commissioner, Albany.

As might be expected, this absurd and extraordinary notice, instead of allaying the public ferment, gave vast additional intensity to it. The people were not only apprehensive of danger from the Kaffirs, but they were alarmed at the evident unfitness of those at the head of affairs to encounter it. On this subject the local *Journal* thus strongly expresses itself :

From a Government notice published yesterday, and which will be found at the head of our first column, the Lieutenant-Governor assures the inhabitants that “there is not the slightest cause for alarm.” And why? Because His Honour has received “from all the Chiefs of Kaffirland the most satisfactory assurance of their desire to maintain peace and tranquility amongst their people!” And how has this desire been evinced? The answer is, by assembling their armed followers; by bearding the Lieutenant-Governor to his teeth; by defying the British troops; and by threatening to drive all the white men into the sea at Algoa Bay. What, then, are we to understand by this solemn trifling? how are we to interpret this mild, pacific message? Simply thus: that the Kaffirs have condescended to forego their threatened invasion—for the present; that it has been deemed prudent to sink into quiescence, and to wait for a *better* opportunity, when the Colony shall be less on its guard, and prepared to meet their threatened vengeance. Surely if the Government can let itself be thus hoodwinked, the people will not be so easily deluded, but will take care not only to be prepared to defend themselves, but also see to it that such public measures are adopted as shall at least restore public confidence, and thus enable them to retain their positions along this

exposed Border. Let it not be forgotten that the same officer who to-day announces there is not the "slightest cause for alarm," himself witnessed, a few days previously, 5,000 armed Kaffirs assembled at one point; himself received a daring and insolent message from their Chief; and that he himself pronounced them to be "a crafty and treacherous people," who "*were not to be relied on.*" Let then the inhabitants put all these circumstances together, and they will be at no loss to know what course to pursue under the exigency. They are called upon to exercise a spirit or self-reliance, as well as to co-operate firmly with their fellow-colonists in obtaining the adoption of such measures as shall remove the occasion of these continual alarms, and which are so ruinous to property in this Province, as well as destructive to the peace and prosperity of the whole Colony.

Public meetings of the inhabitants were immediately called at several points along the Frontier; and at Graham's Town the following resolution was unanimously passed:

That it is the opinion of this meeting that every man capable of bearing arms should provide himself with the same forthwith for common defence, and that the Municipal Commissioners be requested to ascertain what householders possess arms, and to adopt such means as may be necessary to furnish such inhabitants therewith as may be unprovided.

In the meantime the accounts transmitted to the Executive in Cape Town had awakened so much attention, that Her Majesty's steamer *Thunderbolt* was immediately despatched with troops and munitions of war to Port Elizabeth, with directions—so urgent was the case considered—to proceed to the mouth of the Kowie River, and if possible to effect a landing at that point; whilst on the immediate Frontier the most active preparations were made in various quarters to meet the approaching storm.

Amongst other insolent demands made by the Kaffirs was one to the effect that the military post of Victoria should be evacuated by our troops; and as this was not complied with, it was speedily followed by demonstrations of an attack upon it. The records of the day, referring to this subject, state:

In the meantime the military there are energetically employed in erecting temporary defences, the traders and civilians are ordered to remove, supplies of ammunition have been hastily forwarded from head-quarters, barricades of bushes are drawn around the post, and other measures are in course of adoption to meet the threatened storm.

An intimation had also been given of an intended attack upon Fort Beaufort, and hence the inhabitants endeavoured to put themselves in the best posture of defence that their circumstances and exposed situation would admit of. Thus a correspondent of the local *Journal*, writing from that point on the 5th February, states :

Last night we were all upon the *qui vive* in expectation of an attack, and every arrangement was made to give the assailants, should they prove such, a warm reception. The night, however, passed off quietly, nor was anything seen except the glow of the Kaffirs' signal fires as they blazed away on the distant Kaffirland mountains, probably to announce that we were on the alert and prepared to encounter them. The authorities are most energetically employed in making the best arrangement they can to meet the exigency. Every inhabitant capable of service is armed and prepared to unite in the common defence. Patrols are out, and picquets placed around the town. What will be the result of all this commotion God only knows ; but at all events it will make our Government sensible of the danger and folly of temporising with such a people as the Kaffirs, who can never for a moment be trusted. It ought to nerve every man for determined resistance. The time has now come when trifling must no longer be permitted, and when the people have a right to demand of their rulers that course of action which may save the Colony from the possibility of such a calamity as that with which it is now threatened. No person of common prudence will remain here if this be not done, for none can be safe a single moment while savages at their very doors are permitted, as they have been, to commit robbery and murder with absolute impunity.

In Kaffirland the commotion was quite equal to that within the Colony. Thus the public records state :

That they (the Kaffirs) are preparing in earnest for some hostile movement appears evident from the fact that their cattle have been driven into the fastnesses of the Amatoli mountains, whither also they have conveyed large quantities of Kaffir corn and other provisions. Much disappointment is also expressed by them at the peaceful termination of the conference with the Lieutenant-Governor at Block Drift, large numbers of Kaffirs having gone there in full expectation of a trial of strength with our troops.* So confident did they feel in their own prowess on that occasion that every drift leading from the place of meeting was guarded by a strong body of armed Kaffirs, while about 1,000 women were placed in convenient situations, to assist in plundering the traders and other Europeans, and in putting to death any who might be found wounded. These women were for this purpose provided with short bludgeons, or kerries.

* It was subsequently learned that a Kaffir had been placed on a height commanding the whole scene of the meeting, with directions to fire a gun, with which he was provided, as a signal for the best moment in which to make an onslaught on the British troops. The mere accident of his gun missing fire averted this, and probably saved at appalling effusion of human blood.

It is hardly credible that, amidst all this commotion, the authorities should have been lulled into fancied security, or at least that they should affect a belief that there was no actual danger. But such was nevertheless the fact; and hence, in keeping with this, an absurd endeavour was made to allay the public excitement by the publication of the following burlesque:

On Saturday last (7th February) the Diplomatic Agent at Block Drift succeeded in getting the Gaika Chiefs to meet him at his Residency. By a little management these Chiefs were induced to express their sorrow for what had transpired, that so much excitement had been caused in the Colony, and so much expense and trouble occasioned to the Government. They stated their anxiety to keep their people quiet, and that to that end they would despatch messengers throughout Kaffirland, stating that all was peace, and that all thought of war was to be abandoned. In accordance with this pacific disposition a communication was drawn up by the Diplomatic Agent, which, after being subscribed by the assembled Chiefs, was immediately forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor. The following is a copy:

Message of the Chief SANDILLI, Xo Xo, and their respective Chief Men assembled at the Tyumie Residency, this 7th day of February, 1846.

To His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

"My heart is not at rest, because I could not speak to you at the meeting, in consequence of the multitude who followed me. I am sorry my people and your people have been disturbed by my rashness—am really sorry; but it is the first time, and I can only plead my youth in defence of my conduct. You must, therefore, not faint in warning and advising me, for you saw I beat them back when my people pressed on us—they had been told you would make a prisoner of me.

"If I am again hasty in my words, STRETCH* must not be in a hurry before he assembles my great men, and consult with them, before he sends my word to you; you are the shield of the land, and war is not in my heart. I told my people I only came to talk with you. I swear war is not in my heart, but confusion I hear prevails in my country and your country, and we sleep in the bush for fear. They (the Colonists) must go home, and not allow the drought to injure their property any more. I fell, my father, and in message forgot I was a chief."

SANDILLI,
Xo Xo,
VENA,
CHALA,

MAQOMO,
VANDALA,
CHECHELA,
and 30 Amapakati Demelas.

(Signed) C. L. STRETCH, J.P., Diplomatic Agent.

I have appointed special Pakatis to each store and shop, to convince the traders they may live in peace in my country.

* The British Diplomatic Agent with the Gaika Tribes.

As though to heighten the extravagance of all this, a letter, as follows, was transmitted from the Lieut.-Governor's Secretary to an inhabitant of Sidbury :

Graham's Town, 16th February, 1846.

SIR,—I am directed, in reply to your letter of the 13th inst., addressed to the Lieut.-Governor, to assure you that His Honour is not acquainted with a SINGLE ACT of the Kaffirs which can be justly viewed as indicative of their hostile intentions towards the Colony.

In conveying to you this information, which His Honour hopes may serve to allay the fears of the inhabitants in your neighbourhood, he requests that you will also assure them that in the event of anything occurring to disturb the peace, or to threaten danger to the Colony, the district of Bushman's River and the passes to the Addo shall not be left undefended.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. HUDSON, Jun., Acting Secretary.

C. FAIR, Esq.

The local *Journal* of the day thus comments on this extravagant and mischievous trifling :

We do not hesitate to pronounce the above as contemptible a piece of trifling as ever came before us ; and yet upon this is issued a public notice to the effect that all cause of alarm had been removed, and that, as if by magic, the Frontier was restored to a state of tranquility ! But surely the Government and the inhabitants will not be deceived by anything so puerile, and especially when we state, which we do upon good authority, that at the very time of making this apparently contrite apology, and assuming this humble attitude, messengers from the self-same parties were actually on their way to all the other Chiefs, with "their word," to the effect that FOR THE PRESENT no war was to take place ; that the Colony was on its guard ; and that all were therefore to remain quiet TILL A MORE FAVOURABLE OPPORTUNITY. This we state has been confidently communicated to us, and hence the necessity for unslumbering vigilance on the part of the Border inhabitants, and for prompt and decisive action on that of the Government.

Many of the Frontier farmers assembled at Fort Beaufort for the purpose of considering the best course to be pursued for the security of themselves and families. As a first step, the following remonstrance was drawn up, and was, after being duly subscribed, forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor :

The Representation and Remonstrance of the Farmers of Upper Albany and the Lower Division of the District of Somerset.

First,—As it is known to the Government that Her Majesty's subjects, residing on the immediate Frontier of the Colony, have been subject to the most systematic outrages by the Kaffir tribes since the last invasion in 1834 ;

Second,—As it is known to the Government that ever since the conclusion of open war with them, the Kaffirs have robbed the Colonists to a very large amount, and have, without any provocation, murdered British subjects, both English, Dutch, and coloured ;

Third,—As it is known to the Government that from the absence of due protection an unprecedented migration of the Dutch farmers has taken place, they thus finally abandoning the land of their birth ;

Fourth,—As it is known to the Government that many hundreds of families are at this moment congregated in the open fields for mutual protection, occasioned by the menacing attitude and insulting daring of these "crafty and treacherous" people, and also in compliance with a notice issued by direction of His Honour to the Field-cornets to warn the inhabitants of their danger ;

We, therefore, Remonstrate against these grievances being left unredressed. We desire to learn for what reason the Government remains inactive ?—Why petitions are unattended to ?—Why the terms of the treaties, so often violated, have not been enforced ? and why the Kaffirs are permitted to have it in their power to make this Frontier the scene of confusion and bloodshed whenever they think fit ?

We remonstrate respectfully against any assumption of there being at this moment less cause for alarm than has hitherto continued to exist ; and we respectfully dissent from the last notice issued by command of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, stating that there was not "the slightest cause of alarm," because His Honour had received from all the Chiefs their determination to maintain peace amongst their people. Our dissent arises not only from what His Honour has himself designated them to be, "crafty and treacherous, and not to be relied on," but because it is our firm opinion that the Chiefs have so encouraged their people to obtain arms, that they are not now able to control them for good. WE DO NOT DESIRE WAR ; we desire to see the Executive guided by CONSISTENCY, FIRMNESS, and JUSTICE.

As a necessary preliminary to peace, we regard the immediate removal of the Kaffirs from the Ceded Territory as indispensable, they having forfeited every claim to further indulgence. They ought to be confined within the limits of their own territory, the Ceded Territory being inhabited by Hottentots, Native Foreigners, or others, as may seem best.

We anxiously desire peace, but if open war must precede it, rather than further submit to the present ruinous and dishonourable peace, we pledge ourselves as loyal and faithful subjects to support the Government to the utmost of our lives and property ; we are prepared for every sacrifice, except the sacrifice of our HONOUR, our RIGHTS, and LIBERTIES, as British subjects.

Meetings were also held at Graham's Town, Bathurst, Sidbury, and Port Elizabeth, at all of which resolutions were adopted, emphatically pointing out the imminency of the danger, and the necessity of the most determined and prompt measures on the part of the Government to meet it. The Government, both here and at home, would do well to peruse the proceedings at these meetings with attention, to ponder the views put forth, and to act upon the suggestions made. They furnish altogether a chapter upon this Frontier and on the treatment of the Natives, that is of the highest moment to the future peace and prosperity of South Africa.

Amidst all this excitement the *moderation* of the opinions entertained by the Colonists is remarkable, and which, on looking back after the lapse of another year, cannot appear otherwise than highly creditable to them. In giving expression to the public sentiment at this time, the local *Journal* remarks :

What is required is simply to proceed openly, energetically, and perseveringly. There must be nothing enigmatical. The reasons of our procedure must be distinctly avowed, but in such terms that the Kaffirs can perfectly comprehend our motives. It must be shown that our aim is not aggrandisement, not acquisition of territory, but PEACE—the suppression of robbery, the protection of property, and the welfare of ALL.

Strong government must be maintained, and vigilant, never-ceasing superintendence exercised. Offences must be punished with a strong hand as they arise. Little offences must not be passed over and allowed to accumulate, but everything tending to disturb the peace of society must be nipped in the bud. Good conduct should be distinguished, and rewarded in such a way as to stimulate others, and to exhibit, in a manner not to be misunderstood, that industry and exemplary behaviour lead to a sure and permanent reward. To accomplish this there would be required an active police under the direction of an intelligent magistracy, and of efficient superintendents. These must be supported by military posts, dotted along the line of boundary; the whole population being so organised as to form an impregnable line of defence, while such means should be afforded of moral and religious training as would conduce to the forming, not only of a strong barrier along our Frontier, but of such a community as should be worthy of imitation, and indeed excite the emulation of the tribes beyond them.

Whatever were the wishes of the Colonial authorities at this period, and however strong their desire to maintain the peace of the Colony, it is very certain that the Kaffirs *were determined on war*, and that the moment had arrived when they resolved to

test their strength with the Colony. But still they appear to have been resolved to goad the Colony into the first act of open national hostility. Acting apparently with this object, they proceeded to make aggression after aggression, constantly heightening the offence, as though to test to the very utmost the patience of the Government—to ascertain the extreme point of insult and injury, short of declared war, to which the Colonists and the authorities would actually submit. This climax was shortly reached, *as on the 16th of March a Kaffir prisoner, in charge of the Civil Power, was forcibly rescued by a considerable body of Kaffirs, while on the road from Fort Beaufort to Graham's Town; at the same time a Hottentot prisoner, to whom he was handcuffed, was murdered under circumstances of soul-sickening barbarity.* This outrage it was impossible to overlook, but still, even here, an attempt was made to effect a compromise. A demand was made for the rescued prisoner, and for the actual murderers; but as this was refused, the authorities were *compelled* reluctantly to adopt the alternative—to declare war, and to endeavour to obtain, by force of arms, redress of a wrong of too flagitious a character to be passed over without punishment.

The subsequent events are known. The authorities, after all the warnings they had received, were taken by surprise; the military for a time could do no more than protect their own lives, and the walls of their own forts; the Colony, for the space of a *whole month*, was at the mercy of the Kaffir hordes; the Frontier districts were overrun; the dwellings and stacks of the scattered farmers fired; their flocks and herds driven off; and the whole Border rendered one dismal scene of distress, anarchy, and confusion—affording a terrible and an expensive lesson to rulers on the folly of temporising with a savage people, and of not listening with respect to the representations of those who, being on the spot, were most competent to form correct opinions on matters within the range of their own observation, and in the issue of which are involved their own immediate and vital interests. .

